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THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES



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THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL

HELLENIC STUDIES

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J. H. S.



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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

I. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows:—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archaeological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archaeological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5 The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6 In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7 The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8 Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9 Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10 All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11 The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12 The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13 Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14 A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15 The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16 The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17 The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all Candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of Candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the Candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1905, shall pay on election an entrance fee of two guineas.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may, at their discretion, elect for a period not exceeding five years Student-Associates, who shall be admitted to certain privileges of the Society.

33. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the Election of Members. Every Candidate shall also satisfy the Council by means of a certificate from his teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in an educational body and be a Member of the Society, that he is a *bona fide* Student in subjects germane to the purposes of the Society.

34. The Annual Subscription of a Student-Associate shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January in each year. In case of non-payment the procedure prescribed for the case of a defaulting Ordinary Member shall be followed.

35. Student-Associates shall receive the Society's ordinary publications, and shall be entitled to attend the General and Ordinary Meetings, and to read in the Library. They shall not be entitled to borrow books from the Library, or to make use of the Loan Collection of Lantern Slides, or to vote at the Society's Meetings.

36. A Student-Associate may at any time pay the Member's entrance fee of two guineas, and shall forthwith become an Ordinary Member.

37. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

38. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

REGULATIONS FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 19 BLOOMSBURY SQUARE, W.C.

I. THAT the Hellenic Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Hon. Librarian and Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Hon. Librarian, Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c., as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That, except on Christmas Day, Good Friday, and on Bank Holidays, the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from 10.30 A.M. to 5.30 P.M. (Saturdays, 10 A.M. to 1 P.M.), when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance. Until further notice, however, the Library shall be closed for the vacation for August and the first week of September.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions:—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three; but Members belonging both to this Society and to the Roman Society may borrow six volumes at one time.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books, except under special circumstances, be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows:—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.
- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian may reclaim it.

- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.
- (6) All books are due for return to the Library before the summer vacation.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances:—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.
- (4) New books within one month of their coming into the Library.

X. That new books may be borrowed for one week only, if they have been more than one month and less than three months in the Library.

XI. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each week after application has been made by the Librarian for its return, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

XII. That the following be the Rules defining the position and privileges of Subscribing Libraries:—

- a. Libraries of Public and Educational Institutions desiring to subscribe to the *Journal* are entitled to receive the *Journal* for an annual subscription of One Guinea, without Entrance Fee, payable in January of each year, provided that official application for the privilege is made by the Librarian to the Secretary of the Society.
- b. Subscribing Libraries, or the Librarians, are permitted to *purchase* photographs, lantern slides, etc., on the same conditions as Members.
- c. Subscribing Libraries and the Librarians are not permitted to *hire* lantern slides.
- d. A Librarian, if he so desires, may receive notices of meetings and may attend meetings, but is not entitled to vote on questions of private business.
- e. A Librarian is permitted to read in the Society's Library.
- f. A Librarian is not permitted to borrow books, either for his own use, or for the use of a reader in the Library to which he is attached.

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Applications for books and letters relating to the Photographic Collections, and Lantern Slides, should be addressed to the Librarian, at 19 Bloomsbury Square, W.C. 1.

* Representatives of the Roman Society.

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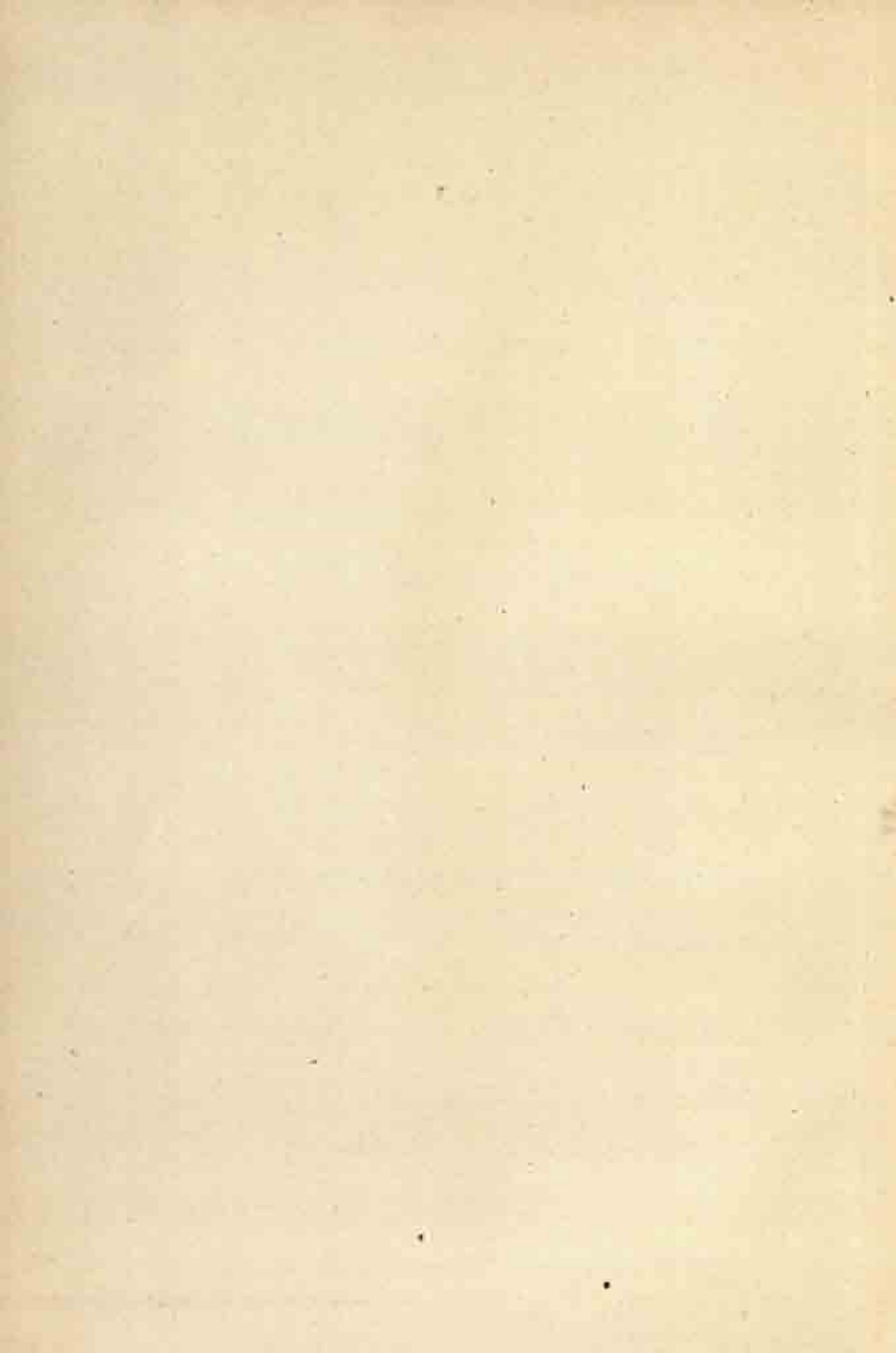
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 †Bernays, A. E., 3, *Priory Road, Kew, Surrey.*
 Berry, James, 21, *Wimpole Street, W. 1.*
 Berry, W. R., *Devon, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.*
 Bevan, E. R. (Council), *Sun House, 6, Chelsea Embankment, S.W. 3.*
 Bienkowski, Prof. F. von, *Basztowa Strasse, 5, Krakau.*

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- Blackett, J. P. N., 22, *South Street, Durham.*
- Bolling, Professor George M., *Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.*
- Boxanquet, Lieut. R. Carr, *Institute of Archaeology, 20, Bedford St., Liverpool.*
- Bowiby, Rev. Henry, *Lancing College, Shoreham-by-Sea, Sussex.*
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- Boyle, Lady Constance, 63, *Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.*
- Boys, Rev. H. A., *North Cadbury Rectory, Bath.*
- Bramwell, Miss, 73, *Chester Square, S.W. 1.*
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- Brooke, Rev. Prof. A. E., *King's College, Cambridge.*
- Brooke-Taylor, B., *The Hall, Babowell, Derbyshire.*
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- †Brown, James, *Netherby, Galashiels, N.B.*
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- Buckler, W. H. (Council), *American Embassy, 4, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W. 1.*
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 Carpenter, Rev. J. Estlin, 14, *Marston Ferry Road, Oxford.*
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 Carter, Reginald, *Grammar School, Bedford.*
 †Carthew, Miss, 6, *Albert Place, Victoria Road, Kensington, W. 8.*
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 Caton, Richard, M.D., *Holly Lee, Livingston Drive South, Liverpool.*
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 Chance, Frederick, 30, *Lennox Gardens, S.W. 1.*
 Chapman, Miss D., *University Hall, Fairfield, Liverpool.*
 Chapman, R. W., 5, *Polstead Road, Oxford.*
 Chase, George H., 12, *Shady Hill Square, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*
 Chavasse, A. S., *Lynch Rectory, near Midhurst, Sussex.*
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 Clatworthy, Mrs. K., 12, *New Road, Reading.*
 †Clauson, A. C., *Hawkhead House, Hatfield, Herts.*
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 Conway, Sir W. M., *Allington Castle, Maidstone.*
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 Courtauld, Miss Catherine, *Booken, Great Missenden.*

- Cowie, George S., c/o *The London and Provincial Bank*, 127, *Edgware Road*, N.W. 2.
 Cowper, H. Swainson, *Lochlendon Manor*, *Staplehurst*, Kent.
 Cozens-Hardy, The Hon. Mrs., 1, *Hatkin Place*, S.W. 1.
 Crace, J. F., *Eton College*, Windsor.
 †Crawford, G. R., 119, *Gloucester Terrace*, *Hyde Park*, W. 2.
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 Cruikshank, Prof. A. H., *The University*, Durham.
 Culley, Mrs., 56, *Torrington Square*, W.C. 1.
 Cust, Lionel, *Datchet House*, *Datchet*, Windsor.
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 Daniel, A. M. (Council), 14, *Royal Crescent*, *Scarborough*.
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 Danson, F. C., 74, *Bidston Road*, *Birkenhead*.
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 †Davies, Prof. G. A., *The University*, Glasgow.
 Davies, L., *St. Edward's School*, Oxford.
 Davis, Arthur B., 337, *East 57th Street*, *New York*, U.S.A.
 Davis, Miss Gladys M. N., M.A., D.Litt., *Dunluc*, *Glenageary*, Co. Dublin.
 Dawes, Rev. J. S., D.D., *Chapelville*, *Grove Road*, *Surbiton*, S.W.
 †Dawes, Miss E. A. S., M.A., D.Litt., 11, *Grove Road*, *Surbiton*.
 Dawkins, Lieut. R. M., R.N.V.R. (Council), *Plas Dulas*, *Llundula*, N. Wales.
 De Billy, Madame Edouard, 4, *Rue de Tulleyrand*, *Paris*, VII^{me}.
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 †De Gex, R. O., *Clifton College*, Bristol.
 Demetriadi, A. C., *Heathlands*, *Prestwich*, Lancashire.
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 De Saumarez, Lord, *Shrubland Park*, *Coddington*, Suffolk.
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 Dickson, Miss Isabel A., 17, *Pelham Crescent*, S.W. 7.
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 Dobson, Prof. J. F., 64, *Caldharbour Road*, *Redland*, Bristol.
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 Doll, Christian, 5, *Southampton Street*, *Bloomshury*, W.C. 1.
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 Dyde, W. Farrell, 4, *Upper Bedford Place*, W.C. 1.

- Eagleston, Arthur J., 27, *Hampstead Way, N.W. 4.*
 Earp, F. R., 15, *Shoon Park, Richmond, Surrey.*
 Eaton, Alexander C. (8th Battn. Bedfordshire Regt.), 203, *Neville Road, Forest Gate, London, E. 7.*
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 Ely, Telford, D.Litt. (Council), 92, *Fitzjohn's Avenue, Hampstead, N.W. 3.*
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 Fleeming-Jenkin, Mrs., 12, *Campden Hill Square, W. 8.*
 Fleming, Rev. H., *Chaplain's Quarters, Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.*
 Fletcher, F., *Charterhouse School, Godalming.*
 Fletcher, H. M., 2, *Grays Inn Square, W.C. 1.*
 Floyd, G. A., *Knowle Cottage, Tonbridge.*
 Foot, F. W. G., D.Litt., *City of London School, Victoria Embankment, E.C. 1.*
 †Ford, P. J., 8, *Moray Place, Edinburgh.*
 Forsdyke, Captain E. J. (Council), 1, *Green Way, Weald Village, Harrow.*
 Forster, Lieut. E. S., *The University, Sheffield.*
 Fotheringham, J. K., 6, *Blackhall Road, Oxford.*
 Fowler, Prof. Harold N., Ph.D., *Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.*
 †Fowler, Prof. the Rev. J. R., *Eurepipe Camp, Eurepipe, Mauritius.*
 Fowler, W. Warde, *Lincoln College, Oxford.*
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 †*†Gardner, Prof. Percy, Litt.D., D.Litt. (V.P.), 12, *Canterbury Road, Oxford*.
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 †Gerrans, H. T., 20, *St. John's Street, Oxford*.
 Gibson, Mrs. Margaret D., D.D., LL.D., *Castle-brac, Chesterton Road, Cambridge*.
 Gidney, A. R., *The College, Marlborough*.
 Giles, Dr. P., *Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge*.
 Gillespie, C. M., 6, *Hollin Lane, Far Howlingley, Leeds*.
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 Godley, A. D., 27, *Norham Road, Oxford*.
 Goligher, Prof. W. A., Litt.D., *Trinity College, Dublin*.
 Gomme, Lieut. A. W., 3, *Justice Walk, Church Street, Chelsea, S.W. 3*.
 Goodhart, A. M., *Eton College, Windsor*.
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 Gow, Rev. James, Litt.D., 19, *Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W. 1*.
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 Haigh, Mrs. E. A. R., 33, *Connaught Street, Hyde Park, W. 2*.
 Haines, C. K., *Meadowleigh, Petersfield*.
 Hall, Lieut. H. R. (Council), 22, *King Henry's Road, Primrose Hill, N.W. 3*.
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 Halsbury, The Right Hon. the Earl of, 4, *Ennismore Gardens, S.W. 7*.
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 †Harrison, Ernest, *Trinity College, Cambridge*.
 †Harrison, Miss J. E., LL.D., D.Litt. (Council), *Newnham College, Cambridge*.
 Harrower, Prof. John, *The University, Aberdeen*.
 Hart, Frank, 15, *Winchester Road, Hampstead, N.W. 3*.
 Hart, Percival, *Grove Lodge, Highgate, N.*
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- Heberden, C. B., *Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford.*
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- Henty, Mrs. Douglas, *Westgate, Chichester.*
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- Holding, Miss Grace E., 21, *Penn Road Villas, Camden Road, N.W. 1.*
- Hole, B. B., 11, *Laurie Park Road, Sydenham, S.E.*
- †Holroyd, Lieut. Michael, *Sturdie House, Beechwood Avenue, Weybridge.*
- Hopkins, R. V. Nind, 88, *Hampstead Way, N.W. 4.*
- Hopkinson, Rev. J. H., 33, *Penrith Road, Colne, Lancs.*
- Hoppin, J. C., *Courtlands, Pomfret Centre, Conn., U.S.A.*
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- Jackson, Mrs. Ruth, 64, *Rutland Gate, S.W. 7.*

- James, A. G., 58, *Rutland Gate, S.W. 7.*
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- Jamieson, Capitaine R., *Régulatrice W., Sœur Postal No. 25, France.*
- Juvier, Mrs. Thomas A., 8, *Haribut Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*
- Jervoise, Miss F. H., 45, *Albert Hall Mansions, S.W. 7.*
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- Johnson, Miss Lorna A., *Woodleigh, Altrincham.*
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- *Jones, H. Stuart (V.P.), *Glan-y-Mor, Saundersfoot, Pembrokeshire.*
- *Jones, Ronald P., 208, *Coleherne Court, South Kensington, S.W. 5.*
- Joseph, H. W. B., *New College, Oxford.*
- Kahnweiler, Miss Bettina, 120, *West 57th Street, New York, U.S.A.*
- Keith, Prof. A. Berriedale, D.Litt., D.C.L., 122, *Polwarth Terrace, Edinburgh.*
- Kennedy, J., 51, *Palace Gardens Terrace, Campden Hill, W. 8.*
- Kensington, Miss Frances, 145, *Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W. 2.*
- Kenyon, Lieut.-Col. Sir Frederic, K.C.B., D.Litt. (V.P.), *British Museum, W.C. 1.*
- Ker, Prof. W. P., 95, *Gower Street, W.C. 1.*
- Keser, Dr. J., *Grande Boissière, 62, Route de Chêne, Genève.*
- King, J. E., *Clifton College, Bristol.*
- *King, Mrs. Wilson, 19, *Highfield Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.*
- Kipling, Mrs., 1, *East Albert Road, Liverpool.*
- Knight, Miss C. M., 9, *Nassington Road, Hampstead, N.W. 3.*
- Laisner, M. L. W., 60A, *Dennington Park Road, W. Hampstead, N.W. 6.*
- Lamb, Miss D., 5, *Vale Studios, Hampstead, N.W.*
- Lamb, Miss W., *Holly Lodge, Campden Hill, W. 8.*
- *Lamb, W. R. M., 5, *Cambridge Terrace, Kew.*
- Lane, Mrs. Charles T., *Dongstoin, Petersfield.*
- *Lansdowne, The Most Hon. the Marquess of, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.M.G., *Bowood, Calne, Wilts.*
- Laurie, George E., *Royal Academical Institute, Belfast.*
- Lautour, Miss de, *Swifts, Buxton, Sussex.*
- Lawson, The Hon. Mrs., 78, *South Audley Street, S.W. 1.*
- Lawson, J. C., *Pembroke College, Cambridge.*
- Leaf, Herbert, *The Green, Marlborough.*
- *Leaf, Walter, Litt.D., D.Litt. (President), 6, *Sussex Place, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.*
- Leeds, Her Grace the Duchess of, 11, *Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.*
- Leeper, Alexander, LL.D., *Warden of Trinity College, Melbourne.*
- Leeper, A. W. A., 4, *Palace Street, S.W. 1.*
- Legge, F., 6, *Gray's Inn Square, W.C. 1.*
- Lehmann-Haupt, Prof. C. F.
- Leigh, W. Austen, *Hartfield, Rockhampton, S.W.*
- Lemon, Miss E., 35, *Lauriston Place, Edinburgh.*
- Lethaby, Prof. W. R. (Council), 111, *Inverness Terrace, W. 2.*
- Letts, Lieut. Malcolm, 124, *Holland Park Avenue, W. 11.*
- Lewis, Harry R., 11, *Upper Phillimore Gardens, W. 8.*
- Lewis, J. G. R., c/o *Advocate of J. A. Greer, Rhodes Buildings, St. George's Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*

- Lewis, L. W. P., 3, *Esholt Avenue, Gutsley, near Leeds.*
 †Lewis, Mrs. Agnes S., Phil. D., D.D., LL.D., *Castle-brass, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.*
 Lincoln, Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, *Old Palace, Lincoln.*
 Lincoln, Very Rev. the Dean of, *The Deanery, Lincoln.*
 Lindley, Miss Julia, 74, *Shooter's Hill Road, Blackheath, S.E. 3.*
 Lindsell, Miss Aline, *Newnham College, Cambridge.*
 Livingstone, R. W., *Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*
 Llewellyn, Raymond.
 Lloyd, Miss A. M., *Caythorpe Hall, Grantham.*
 Lloyd, Miss M. E. H., *110 Meville, Humphrey Lloyd & Sons, 28, Church Street, Manchester.*
 †Lock, Rev. W., D.D., *Warden of Keble College, Oxford.*
 †Loeb, James, *Konradstrasse 14, Munich, Germany.*
 †Longman, Miss Mary, 61, *Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, W. 11.*
 Lorimer, Miss H. L., *Somerville College, Oxford.*
 Lowe, Miss D., *Hinton St. George, Crewkerne, Somerset.*
 Lowry, C., *The School House, Tonbridge.*
 Luce, Dr. Stephen B., *University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.*
 Lumsden, Miss, *Warren Cottage, Cranleigh, Surrey.*
 Lunn, Sir Henry S., M.D., 3, *Upper Woburn Place, W.C. 1.*
 *Mazan, R. W., *Master of University College, Oxford.*
 McCann, Rev. Justin, O.S.B., *Ampleforth Abbey, Oswaldkirk, York.*
 McCurdy, Miss G. H., Ph.D., *Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., U.S.A.*
 McCutcheon, Miss E. H., *Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.*
 Macdonald, George, C.B., LL.D., 17, *Leamouth Gardens, Edinburgh.*
 Macdonald, Miss Louisa, *Women's College, Sydney University, Sydney, N.S.W.*
 McDonnell, H. C., *Twyford School, Twyford, near Winchester.*
 Macdonell, P. J., *Office of Public Prosecutor, Livingstone, N.W. Rhodesia.*
 McDougall, Miss Eleanor, *Westfield College, Hampstead, N.W.*
 Macduff, Mrs. E. A., *Seamus Club, 27, Dover Street, W. 1.*
 MacEwen, Mrs., 5, *Doane Terrace, Edinburgh.*
 McGregor, J. M., *Bedford College, Regents Park, N.W. 1.*
 McIntyre, Rev. P. S., *Hibaldston Vicarage, Briggs, Lancs.*
 MacIver, D. Randall, 131, *East 66th Street, New York, U.S.A.*
 Macmillan, Mrs. Alexander, 32, *Grosvenor Road, S.W. 1.*
 †*Macmillan, George A., D.Litt. (Hon. Soc.), *St. Martin's Street, W.C. 2.*
 Macmillan, Mrs. George A., 27, *Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W. 7.*
 Macmillan, Maurice, 32, *Cadogan Place, S.W. 1.*
 †Macmillan, W. E. F., 42, *Onslow Square, S.W. 7.*
 †Macnaghten, Hugh, *Eton College, Windsor.*
 †Magrath, Rev. J. R., *Provost of Queen's College, Oxford.*
 *Mahaffy, Rev. J. P., D.D., D.C.L., C.V.O., *Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.*
 Mair, Prof. A. W., *The University, Edinburgh.*
 †Malin, F. B., *The School, Halesbury.*
 Marchant, E. C., *Lincoln College, Oxford.*
 †Marindin, G. E., *Hammondswood, Frensham, Farnham.*
 †Marquand, Prof. Allan, *Princeton College, New Jersey, U.S.A.*
 Marriage, Miss E. M., *Avonbitton, Melksham, Wilts.*
 Marsh, E.
 Marshall, Miss, *Oakhill, Stoke-on-Trent.*
 Marshall, Frederick H., 144, *Abbey Road, N.W. 6.*
 Marshall, Sir J. H., C.I.E., Litt.D., *Director General of Archaeology, Simla, India.*

- Marshall, Prof. J. W., *University College of Wales, Aberystwyth*.
 Marshall, R., 31, *The Walldrons, Croydon*.
 Martin, Charles B., Box 42, *Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.*
 Marrindale, Rev. C., 114, *Mount Street, W. 1*.
 †Martyn, Edward, *Tillyra Castle, Ardahan, County Galway*.
 Massy, Colonel P. H. H., *United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1*.
 Matheson, P. E., 1, *Savile Road, Oxford*.
 Maugham, A. W., *The Wick, Brighton*.
 Mavrogordato, J., 5, *Linnell Close, Hampstead Garden Suburb, N.W. 4*.
 Mayrogordato, J. J., 6, *Palmeira Court, Hove, Sussex*.
 Mavrogordato, T. M., 62, *Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, W. 2*.
 Mayor, H. B., *Clifton College, Bristol*.
 Mayor, R. J. G., *Board of Education, South Kensington, S.W. 7*.
 Measures, A. E., *King Edward VI. School, Birmingham*.
 Medley, R. P., *Felsted School, Essex*.
 Megaw, M. G., *The Welkin, Eastbourne*.
 Meiklejohn, Lady, 23, *Cliveden Place, Eaton Square, S.W. 1*.
 Merk, F. H., *Christ's Hospital, West Horsham*.
 Merry, Rev. W. W., D.D., *Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford*.
 Metaxas, Spiro, 98, *Westbourne Terrace, W. 2*.
 †Miers, Sir H. A., F.R.S., *Birch Hays, Cromwell Range, Fallowfield, Manchester*.
 Michel, Prof. Ch.
 Miller, William, 36, *Via Palestro, Rome, Italy*.
 Milliet, P., 95, *Boulevard St. Michel, Paris*.
 Millington, Miss M. V., 47, *Park Hill, Sydenham, S.E. 26*.
 Milne, J. Grafton, *Bankside, Goldhill, Farnham, Surrey*.
 Milner, Viscount, G.C.B., *Brooke's Club, St. James Street, S.W. 1*.
 Minet, Miss Julia, 18, *Sussex Square, Hyde Park, W. 2*.
 Minns, Ellis H. (Council), *Pembroke College, Cambridge*.
 Mitchell, Mrs. C. W., *Jesmond Towers, Newcastle-on-Tyne*.
 Mond, Rt. Hon. Sir Alfred, Bart., M.P., 35, *Lawrence Square, S.W. 1*.
 Mond, Mrs. E., 22, *Hyde Park Square, W. 2*.
 †Mond, Mrs. Frida, *The Poplars, 20, Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W. 8*.
 †Mond, Robert, *Combe Bank, near Sevenoaks*.
 Monfrins, C. B. S.
 Monfrins, J. Drummond C., 313, *Upper Richmond Road, S.W. 14*.
 Morrison, Walter, 77, *Cromwell Road, S.W. 7*.
 Mosley, H. W., *The White House, Haslemere*.
 Mudie-Cooke, Miss P. B., 3, *Porchester Terrace, W. 2*.
 Muirhead, L., *Hasley Court, Wallingford*.
 †Murro, J. A. R., *Lincoln College, Oxford*.
 †Murphy, Rev. J. M., *Miltown Park, Dublin*.
 Murray, Prof. G. G. A. (V.P.), 82, *Woodstock Road, Oxford*.
 Musson, Miss Caroline, *Mount Pleasant, Magdalen Hill, Winchester*.
 †*Myers, Ernest (Council), *Brackenfield, Chilchurst, Kent*.
 †Myres, Lieut.-Comm. J. Linton, R.N.V.R., 101, *Danbury Road, Oxford*.
 †Nairn, Rev. J. Arbuthnot, *Merchant Taylors' School, E.C.*
 Needham, Miss Helen R., *Enville House, Green Walk, Bowdon, Cheshire*.
 Negroponte, J. A., *Enville Cottage, Bowdon, Cheshire*.
 Newell, Edward T., c/o *The American Numismatic Society, Broadway, and 156th Street, New York, U.S.A.*
 Newman, W. L., Litt.D., D.Litt., *Pittville Lawn, Caerliffham*.
 Newton, The Lord, 6, *Belgrave Square, S.W. 1*.
 Newton, Miss Charlotte M., 18, *Priory Road, Bedford Park, W. 4*.

- Naack, Prof. Ferdinand, *Archaeolog. Institut, Wilhelmstrasse, No. 9, Tübingen.*
 Namico, C. G., c/o Messrs. Ralli Bros., Peter Street, Manchester.
 Norman-Roth, Mrs., 1, Warwick House, 117, Warwick Road, Earls Court, S.W. 5.
 Norwood, Cyril, *Marlborough College, Wilts.*
 Norwood, Prof. G., 65, Ninian Road, Roath Park, Cardiff.
 Oakesmith, John, D.Litt., 18, Probert Gardens, Chislehurst, W. 4.
 Odgers, Rev. J. Edwin, D.D., 9, Marston Ferry Road, Oxford.
 Oehler, Miss Elisabeth, 51, Marlborough Mansions, Cannon Hill, Hampstead, N.W. 6.
 Ogden, Mrs. Percy, *Fellside, Maunty, Keswick, Cumberland.*
 Ogle, Christopher, *The Beeches, Kingswood, nr. Tadworth, Surrey.*
 Oliphant, Prof. Samuel Grant, *Grove City College, Grove City, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.*
 Oppé, A. P., 18, Cheyne Gardens, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
 Oppenheimer, H., 9, Kensington Palace Gardens, W. 8.
 Ormerod, H. A., *The University, Liverpool.*
 Orpen, Rev. T. H., *Mark Ash, Abinger, Dorking.*
 Owen, A. S., *Keele College, Oxford.*
 Owen-Mackenzie, Lady, 6, Chesham Street, S.W. 1.
 Page, T. E., *Woodcote, Godalming.*
 Pallas, Alexander, *Tatol, Aighurth Drive, Liverpool.*
 Parker, Miss M. E., *Princess Helena College, Ealing, W. 5.*
 †Parry, Rev. O. H., *All Hallows' Clergy House, East India Docks, E. 14.*
 Parry, Rev. R. St. J., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Paterson, Dr. W. B., 1, Aighurth Hall Road, Aighurth, Liverpool.
 †Paton, James Morton, 302, Stratheona Hall, Charles River Road, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
 Paton, W. R., *Vathy, Samos.*
 Pears, Sir Edwin, *Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.*
 Pearson, A. C., *Nately, Walsingham, Surrey.*
 Peckover of Wisbech, Baron, *Wisbech, Cambs.*
 †Peckover, The Hon. Alexandrina, *Bank House, Wisbech.*
 Pember, F. W., *Warden of All Souls' College, Oxford.*
 Pennoyer, R. E., *The American Embassy, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W. 1.*
 Penoyre, J. H. B. (Secretary & Librarian), 8, King's Bench Walk, Inner Temple, E.C. 4.
 †Penrose, Miss Emily, *Somerwillie College, Oxford.*
 ††Percival, F. W., 1, Chesham Street, S.W. 1.
 Perry, Prof. Edward Delavan, *Columbia University, New York City, U.S.A.*
 Pesel, Miss Laura, *Oak House, Bradford.*
 Petrocchino, D. P., 25, Odos Timoleonas, Athens.
 Petrocokino, Ambrose, *Thomas Cottage, Pangbourne.*
 Phillips, Mrs. Herbert, *Sutton Oaks, Macclesfield.*
 Phillimore, Prof. J. S., *The University, Glasgow.*
 Phillips, J. G., 7, Nottingham Place, W. 1.
 Pickering, T. E., *The Schools, Shrewsbury.*
 Plater, Rev. Charles, S.J., *St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst, Blackburn.*
 †Platt, Prof. Arthur, 5, Chester Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
 †Podmore, G. C., *Charney Hall, Grange-over-Sands.*
 Pollock, The Right Hon. Sir Frederick, Bart., 21, Hyde Park Place, W. 2.
 †Pope, Mrs. G. H., 60, Banbury Road, Oxford.
 †Postgate, Prof. J. P., Litt.D., 15, Linnet Lane, Liverpool.
 Powell, John U., *St. John's College, Oxford.*
 Poynter, Sir Edward J., Bart., Litt.D., D.C.L., P.R.A., 70, Addison Road, W. 14.
 Price, Miss Mabel, *The Judges' Lodgings, Oxford.*
 Prickard, A. O., *Shotover, Fleet R.S.O., Hants.*
 Pryce, Lieut. F. N., *British Museum, W.C. 1.*

- Pryor, Francis R., *Woodfield, Hatfield, Herts.*
 Purser, Miss Olive, 12, *Palmerston Road, Dublin.*
 Pyddoke, Miss Mary, T.S. "Cornwall," *Parsloot, Essex.*
 Quibell, Mrs. Annie A., *Gizeh Museum, Egypt.*
 † Rackham, H., *Christ's College, Cambridge.*
 Radcliffe, W. W., *Fonthill, East Grinstead, Sussex.*
 Radford, Miss, *St. Anthony, Portscatho, Cornwall.*
 † Raleigh, Miss Katherine A., 8, *Park Road, Uxbridge.*
 * Ralli, Pandeli, 17, *Belgrave Square, S.W. 1.*
 † Ralli, Mrs. Stephen A., *St. Catherine's Lodge, Hove, Sussex.*
 Ramsay, A. B., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Ramsay, Prof. G. G., LL.D., Litt.D., 19, *Onslow Gardens, S.W. 7.*
 † Ramsay, Prof. Sir W. M., D.C.L., Litt.D. (V.P.), 41, *Braid Avenue, Edinburgh.*
 Kaven, H. M., M.R.C.S., *Barfield House, Broadstairs.*
 Rawlins, F. H., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Reeves, Hon. William Pember, 43, *Cornwall Gardens, S.W. 7.*
 Reichel, Sir Harry R., *Gartherwen, Bangor, North Wales.*
 Reid, Prof. J. S., Litt.D., *Catus College, Cambridge.*
 † Rendall, Rev. G. H., Litt.D., *Dedham House, Dedham, Colchester.*
 † Rendall, Montague, *The College, Winchester.*
 Kennie, W., *The University, Glasgow.*
 Richards, Rev. G. C., *Oriel College, Oxford.*
 Richards, F., *Kingswood School, Bath.*
 Richardson, Miss A. W., *Westfield College, Hampstead, N.W.*
 Richmond, Prof. D. L., 45, *Cardiff Road, Llandaff.*
 Richmond, Sir W. B., K.C.B., D.C.L., R.A., *Bevor Lodge, West End, Hammersmith, W.*
 Richter, Miss Gisela, Litt.D., *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U.S.A.*
 Ridgeway, Prof. W. (V.P.), *Fen Ditton, Cambridge.*
 Ridley, Miss E. E. A., 44, *Bartholomew Road, N.W. 5.*
 Ridley, Sir Edward, 48, *Lennox Gardens, S.W. 1.*
 Rigg, Herbert A., *Wallhurst Manor, Cowfold, Horsham.*
 Riley, W. E., *County Hall, Spring Gardens, S.W. 1.*
 Roberts, J. Slingsby, 3, *Powis Villas, Brighton.*
 Roberts, Principal T. F., *Sherborne House, Aberystwyth.*
 Roberts, Professor W. Rhys, LL.D., *The University, Leeds.*
 Robertson, The Right Rev. Bishop A., 7, *Canterbury Road, Oxford.*
 Robertson, D. S. (Council), *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Robinson, C. E., *Culvers Close, Winchester.*
 Robinson, Edward, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U.S.A.*
 Robinson, Lieut. E. S. G., *British Museum, W.C. 1.*
 Robinson, W. S., *Courtfield, West Hill, Putney Heath, S.W. 15.*
 Rodd, H. E., Sir Rennell, G.C.M.G., *British Embassy, Rome.*
 Rose, H. J., 840, *Lorne Crescent, Montreal, Canada.*
 † Rosebery, The Right Hon. the Earl of, K.G., 38, *Porteley Square, W. 1.*
 Rotton, Sir J. F., *Lackwood, Frith Hill, Godalming, Surrey.*
 † Rouse, W. H. D., Litt.D., *Globe Road, Cambridge.*
 Ruben, Paul, 34, *Alte Rabenstrasse, Hamburg, Germany.*
 † Ryle, The Right Rev. Bishop, C.V.O., *The Deanery, Westminster, S.W. 1.*
 Sacha, Mrs. Gustave, 26, *Marlborough Hill, N.W. 8.*
 St. Lawrence, T. J., E. Gaisford, *Howth Castle, Dublin.*
 Salter, Mrs., 2, *Campden Hill Gardens, Kensington, W. 8.*
 Salterthwaite, Colonel, *Stray Mead, York Place, Harringate.*
 Sanday, Rev. Canon Prof. W., D.D., *Christ Church, Oxford.*
 Sanderson, E. W., *The School, Oundle, Northamptonshire.*

- Sands, P. C., *Pucklington School, East Verbs.*
 †Sandys, Sir John, Litt.D. (V.P.), *St. John's House, Grange Road, Cambridge.*
 †Sandys, Lady, *St. John's House, Grange Road, Cambridge.*
 Sawyer, Rev. H. A. P., *School House, Stroudbury.*
 †Sayce, Rev. Prof. A. H., LL.D. (V.P.), 8, *Chalmers Crescent, Edinburgh.*
 †Scaramanga, A. P.
 †Scarth, Miss E. M., *Turleigh Mill, Bradford-on-Avon.*
 Scheurleur, C. W. Lunsingh, *Vinkenpark 16, The Hague.*
 Schillizzi, Miss, 37, *Upper Brook Street, W. 1.*
 Schrader, Prof. H., *Allegasse 39, Wien IV.*
 Schuster, Ernest, 12, *Harrington Gardens, S.W. 7.*
 Scouloudi, Stephanos, *Athens, Greece.*
 Scott, Lieut. C. A.
 Seager, Richard B., c/o *Baring Bros. and Co., 8, Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C. 2.*
 Seale, Rev. E. G., *Portora School, Enniskillen.*
 Seelohm, Hugh, *Poynder's End, near Hitchin.*
 Seligman, Prof. C. G., *The Mount, Long Crendon, Thame, Oxon.*
 Seltman, E. J., *Kingshoe, Great Berkhamsled, Herts.*
 †Selwyn, Rev. E. C., D.D., *Undershaw, Hindhead, Surrey.*
 Selwyn, Rev. E. G., *Warden of Radley, Berks.*
 †Sharpe, Miss Catharine, *Stanycroft, Elstree, Herts.*
 Shear, Mrs., 468, *Riverside Drive, New York, U.S.A.*
 Shepphanks, A. C., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Sheppard, J. T., *King's College, Cambridge.*
 Shewan, Alexander, *Seshof, St. Andrews, Fife.*
 Shields, Mrs., *American Art Students' Club, 4, Rue de Chevreuse, Paris.*
 Shipley, H. S., C.M.G., H.B.M. Consulate, *Tabriz, Persia.*
 Shoolbridge, Leonard, *Propriété St. François, Guiraut, Nuz.*
 Shove, Miss E., 30, *York Street Chambers, Bryanston Square, W. 1.*
 Sidgwick, Arthur, *Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*
 Silcox, Miss, *St. Felix School, Southwold.*
 Sills, H. H., *Great Shelford, Cambridge.*
 †Sing, J. M., *The College, Winchester.*
 Six, J., *Amstel 218, Amsterdam.*
 †Slater, Howard, M.D., *St. Judeaux, Devonport.*
 Sloane, Miss Eleanor, 13, *Welford Road, Leicester.*
 Sloman, H. N. P., *Sydney Grammar School, Sydney, N.S.W.*
 †Smith, A. Hamilton (V.P.), *British Museum, W.C. 1.*
 Smith, A. P., *Loretto School, Musselburgh, N.B.*
 Smith, Sir Cecil Harcourt, C.V.O., LL.D. (V.P.), 62, *Rutland Gate, S.W. 7.*
 Smith, Sir H. Babington, K.C.B., C.S.I., 121, *St. James Court, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1.*
 Smith, James, *The Knoll, Blundellsands, near Liverpool.*
 Smith, Nowell, *School House, Sherborne, Dorset.*
 Smith, Sharwood E., *The School House, Newbury.*
 Smith, William H., 63, *Wall Street, New York.*
 Smith-Pearse, Rev. T. N. H., *Castle Street, Launceston, Cornwall.*
 †Snow, E. C., *St. John's College, Oxford.*
 †Somerset, Arthur, *Castle Goring, Worthing.*
 Sonneuschein, Prof. E. A., 39, *Calthorpe Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.*
 Southwark, Right Rev. Lord Bishop of, *Bishop's House, Kennington Park, S.E. 11.*
 Sowels, F., *The Rookery, Thetford, Norfolk.*
 Spearing, H. G., 17, *Haringey Park, Crouch End, N. 8.*
 Spilsbury, A. J., *The Grammar School, Wakefield.*
 Spooner, Rev. W. A., *Warden of New College, Oxford.*

- Stainton, J. A., 1, *Wyndham Place, Bryanston Square, W.* 1.
 Starkie, Rt. Hon. W. J. M., Litt.D., *Office of National Education, Marlborough Street, Dublin.*
 †Stawell, Miss F. Melian, 33, *Ladbroke Square, Notting Hill Gate, W.* 11.
 Steel, D., *Reycot, Stamford, Essex.*
 †Steel-Maitland, Sir A. D., M.P., 72, *Castogan Sq., S.W.* 1.
 Steele, Dr., 35, *Viale Milton, Florence.*
 Steele-Hutton, Miss E. P., 20, *Sedgemoor Avenue, East Finchley, N.*
 Stevenson, Miss E. F., 24, *Brandling Park, Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
 Stevenson, G. H., *University College, Oxford.*
 Stewart, Prof. J. A., *Christ Church, Oxford.*
 Stocks, J. L., *St. John's College, Oxford.*
 Sugden, Rev. Edgar, *Aldenham Vicarage, Watford.*
 Stogdon, J., *Mount Pleasant, London Road, Harrow-on-the-Hill.*
 Stone, E. W., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Stout, George F., *Craigard, St. Andrews.*
 Strangways, L. R., 6, *Grosvenor Gardens, Muswell Hill, N.* 10.
 Streatfield, Mrs., 22, *Park Street, W.* 1.
 Strong, Mrs. S. Arthur, LL.D., Litt.D., (Council), *British School, Valle Giulia, Rome.*
 Struthers, Sir John, K.C.B., 31, *Stoane Garden, S.W.* 1.
 †Sykes, Brig.-General Sir Percy, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., *Ispahan, via Petrograd and Tehran.*
 Symonds, Rev. H. H., *Rugby School, Rugby.*
 Tancock, Captain A. (31st Punjab, Indian Army), *Parachinar, Kurram Valley, Via Kohat, N.W.F.P. India.*
 Tarbell, Prof. V. B., *University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.*
 Turn, W. W., *Mountgerald, Dingwall, N.B.*
 Tarrant, Miss D., *Belford College, Regent's Park, N.W.* 1.
 Tatten, R. G., 2, *Somers Place, W.* 2.
 Taylor, Miss M. E. J., *Royal Holloway College, Egham.*
 Taylor, Mrs. L. E. Watson, 19, *The Boltons, S.W.* 10.
 Temple, Rev. W., *St. James's Rectory, Piccadilly, W.* 1.
 Thackeray, H. St. John, *Board of Education, South Kensington, S.W.* 7.
 Thomas, W. H., *The Nest, Roman Road, Linthorpe, Middlesbrough.*
 Thomas-Stanford, Charles, *Preston Manor, Brighton.*
 †Thompson, Miss Anna Boynton, *Thayer Academy, South Braintree, Mass., U.S.A.*
 Thompson, Sir Herbert, Bart., 9, *Kensington Park Gardens, S.W.* 1.
 Thompson, J., 40, *Harcourt Street, Dublin.*
 Thompson, Capt. Maurice, *Garthlands, Baginbun.*
 Thomson, F. C., 4, *Rothbury Terrace, Edinburgh.*
 Tidswell, W. J., *Kingswood School, Bath.*
 Tillyard, H. J. W., *Fordfield, Cambridge.*
 †Tod, Lieut. Marcus N., *Orzel College, Oxford.*
 Toynbee, Arnold Joseph, *Balilof College, Oxford.*
 Tuoleer, Dr. Emil, *Helsingfors, Finland.*
 †Turnbull, Mrs. Peveril, *Sandy-Brook Hall, Ashbourne.*
 Turner, Prof. H. H., F.R.S., *University Observatory, Oxford.*
 Tyler, C. H., *Grasham Villas, Holt, Norfolk.*
 Underhill, G. E., *Magdalen College, Oxford.*
 Upcott, Rev. Dr., *Christ's Hospital, West Herts.*
 Ure, Prof. Percy N. (Council), *University College, Reading.*
 †Vaughan, E. L., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Vaughan, W. W., *Wellington College, Becks.*
 †Virtue-Tebbs, Miss H. M., 61, *Wynnstay Gardens, Kensington, W.* 8.

- †Viti de Marco, Marchesa di, *Palazzo Orsini, Monte Savello, Rome.*
 Vlasto, Michael P., 12, *Allée des Capucines, Marseille.*
 Vysoký, Prof. Dr. Ignaz, *K.K. Böhmische Universität, Prag, Bohemia.*
 Wace, A. J. B. (Council), *British School, Athens, Greece.*
 †Wackernagel, Prof. Jacob, *The University, Göttingen, Germany.*
 Wadsworth, S. A., 34, *Fellows Road, Hampstead, N.W. 3.*
 †Wagner, Henry, 13, *Half Moon Street, W. 1.*
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 American Journal of Philology (Library of the Johns Hopkins University, *Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.*).
 Analecta Bollandiana, Société des Bollandistes, 22, *Boulevard Saint-Michel, Bruxelles*.
 Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux (Revue des Études Anciennes—Bulletin Hispanique—Bulletin Italien). Rédaction des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres, *L'Université, Bordeaux, France*.
 Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (The Institute of Archaeology, 40, *Isidford Street, Liverpool*).
 Annual of the British School at Athens.
 Annuario della Regia Scuola di Atene, *Athens, Greece*.
 Archaiologike Ephemeris, *Athens*.
 Archaiologikon Deltion, *Athens*.
 Archiv für Religionswissenschaft (B. G. Teubner, *Leipzig*).
 Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift (O. R. Reisch, *Carlstrasse 20, Leipzig, Germany*).
 Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at Athens).
 Bulletin de l'Institut Archéol. Russe à Constantinople (M. le Secrétaire, *L'Institut Archéol. Russe, Constantinople*).
 Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie, *Alexandria*.
 Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma (Prof. Gatti, Museo Capitolino, *Rome*).
 Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
 Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, with the Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, *Cairo*.
 Classical Philology, *University of Chicago, U.S.A.*
 Gazette des Beaux-Arts (The Secretary, 106, *Boulevard St. Germain, Paris, VP*).
 Glotta (Prof. Dr. Kretschmer, *Floriantgasse, 23, Vienna*).
 Hermes (Herr Professor Friedrich Leo, *Friedländer Weg, Göttingen, Germany*).
 Jahrbuch des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Corneliusstrasse No. 2, Berlin*.
 Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, *Türkensstrasse 4, Vienna*.
 Journal of the Anthropological Institute, and Man, 50, *Great Russell Street, W.C. 1*.
 Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (Hon. Editor, Dr. A. H. Gardiner, 9, *Langens Road, Holland Park, W. 1*).
 Journal of Philology and Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society.
 Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*
 Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique (M. J. N. Svoronos, Musée National, *Athens*).
 Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte), (Prof. E. Kornemann, *Neckarhalde 53, Tübingen*).
 Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale d'Université S. Joseph, *Beirut, Syria*.
 Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, *École française, Palazzo Farnese, Rome*.
 Memnon (Prof. Dr. R. Freiherr von Lichtenberg, *Lindenstrasse 5, Berlin Sudende, Germany*).
 Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome (The Librarian, *American Academy, Porta San Pancrazio, Rome*).
 Memorie dell' Istituto di Bologna, Sezione di Scienze Storico-Filologiche (R. *Accademia di Bologna, Italy*).
 Mitteilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Athens*.
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- Mnemosyne (c/o Mr. E. J. Brill), *Leiden, Holland*.
 Neapolis, Signor Prof. V. Maechiolo, *Via Civillo 8, Naples*.
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 Notizie degli Scavi, R. Accademia dei Lincei, *Rome*.
 Numismatic Chronicle, 22, *Albemarle Street*.
 Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum (c/o Dietrich'sche Verlags-
 Buchhandlung, *Göttingen*).
 Praktika of the Athenian Archaeological Society, *Athens*.
 Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllogos, *Constantinople*.
 Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg*.
 Revue Archéologique, c/o M. E. Leroux (Editeur), 28, *Rue Bonaparte, Paris*.
 Revue des Études Grecques, 44, *Rue de Lille, Paris*.
 Revue Épigraphique.
 Rheinisches Museum für Philologie (Prof. Dr. A. Brinkmann, *Schumannstrasse 58, Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany*).
 Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums (Prof. Dr. E. Drexler, *Kaiser-Strasse 35, Munich, Germany*).
 University of California Publications in Classical Philology and in American Archaeology (Exchange Department, *University of California, Berkeley, Ca., U.S.A.*).
 Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, *Berlin*.

PROCEEDINGS

SESSION 1916-17

During the past Session the following Papers were read at General Meetings of the Society:—

November 14th, 1916. Discussion on *The Future of Hellenic Studies* (see *J.H.S.* xxxvi. pp. lviii. sqq.).

February 13th, 1917. Mr. A. B. Cook: *The Eastern Pediment of the Parthenon, its restoration and significance* (see below, pp. xlv. sqq.).

May 8th, 1917. Mr. Arthur H. Smith: *A Graeco-Roman bronze statuette* (*J.H.S.* xxxvii. pp. 135 sqq.).

Professor W. R. Lethaby: *Greek Art and Modern Art* (see below, pp. xlvii. sqq.).

June 26th, 1917. Dr. Walter Leaf: *From Troas to Assos with St. Paul*.

THE ANNUAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on June 26th, 1917. Dr. Walter Leaf, President of the Society, in the Chair.

Mr. George A. Macmillan, Hon. Secretary, presented the following Annual Report of the Council:—

The Council beg leave to submit the following Report for the Session 1916-1917.

The war has now lasted nearly three years and the end is not yet in sight. All the younger generation of scholars, both men and women, are either fighting for their country or serving it in capacities which take them away from their usual pursuits. The older generation, too, are many of them occupied with work arising directly or indirectly out of the changed conditions produced by the war, and it is of paramount importance that nothing should be done to waste energy which might be used in national service. The Council, therefore, have felt it their duty not to initiate any fresh development of the Society's work during the past twelve months, but merely to keep its machinery in good working order so that when the proper moment comes, no time may be lost in making a fresh start. Three General Meetings have been held, the *Journal* has been

published and the Library has been open daily for the use of members, who have enjoyed the usual facilities for borrowing books and slides.

During the absence, on active service, of Captain E. J. Forsdyke, Mr. G. F. Hill has kindly resumed the task of editing the *Journal*. The volume issued during the past year contains Mr. A. H. Smith's important history of the Elgin Collection, commemorating the centenary of the purchase of the Elgin marbles.

It will be remembered that more than two years ago the Council agreed to place the services of the Society's Secretary, Mr. John Penoyre, at the disposal of the National Service League, to act as Manager of Lord Roberts' Field-glass Fund. At that time it was not anticipated that there could be any very substantial addition to the number of instruments contributed by the public for the use of the Army during Lord Roberts' lifetime, but the Council were recently informed by the President of the League, Lord Milner, that owing to Mr. Penoyre's energy and resource a further 12,000 field-glasses had been collected. For a long period Mr. Penoyre had the co-operation of another member of the Council, Mr. J. P. Droop, now working at the Admiralty. The national and military importance of this organisation devised by Lord Roberts cannot be overestimated and the Council feel sure that the members of the Society will share their satisfaction that their Secretary's power of organisation is being used to such national advantage. They are aware also that in consequence of the dispensation given him, Mr. Penoyre has been able to pursue other activities for the benefit of H.M. forces in the field.

The Council have once more and, if possible, in fuller measure to record the Society's gratitude to Miss C. A. Hutton, a member of their body, who has voluntarily undertaken the management of the Library and the Secretarial work of the Society during Mr. Penoyre's absence. They feel that without this help the Library must have been closed and are of opinion that since the beginning of the war no more signal service has been rendered to the Society than Miss Hutton's skilled and self-denying work. The fact that the Assistant Librarian, Mr. F. Wise, enlisted early in the war has greatly added to the detailed work Miss Hutton has coped with so successfully. Members who were in the habit of borrowing books and slides will be interested to learn that Gunner Wise is serving with his Battery in the R.G.A. on the Italian Front.

Changes on the Council, etc.—The Council regret to record the deaths during the past year of two distinguished members of the Society, who, though not original members, were elected during the first year of its existence, viz., Sir E. B. Tylor, D.C.L., F.R.S., and the Rev. Prebendary Moss, sometime Head master of Shrewsbury School. Sir E. B. Tylor served on the Council from 1882 to 1888. Another early member of the Society, the Rev. Professor Robertson McEwen, elected in 1885, passed away in 1916, and among other members whom the Society has

lost by death, are the Rev. Professor J. B. Mayor, who served on the Council from 1895 to 1898, Sir Edwin Egerton, G.C.B., and the Earl of Cromer. During the years following his retirement from the Diplomatic Service, Lord Cromer was a constant attendant at the Meetings of the Society; he was keenly interested in the literary side of Hellenic Studies and, realising their educational value, was anxious that Greek should not be driven out of the curriculum of Secondary Schools. With the view of encouraging and maintaining the study of Greek, particularly among the young, in the national interest, he founded last year an Annual Prize, to be administered by the British Academy, for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature or philosophy of Ancient Greece, preference being given to those subjects which deal with aspects of the Greek genius and civilisation of a large and permanent significance.

The Society has lost another old member by the death of Mr. R. Phené Spiers, the distinguished architect, draughtsman and critic. To the end of his long life Mr. Spiers retained his enthusiasm for the beauty and interest of ancient life. In recent years he was a frequent reader in the Society's Library.

In Professor Levi H. Elwell, of Amherst College, Mass., the Society has lost an American sympathiser of thirty years' standing.

The war continues to take its toll of the younger members, seven more of whom have fallen this year in the service of their country: Raymond Asquith, Leonard Butler, Guy Dickins, C. D. Fisher, Roger M. Heath, John B. Partington, and T. I. W. Wilson. The death of Guy Dickins, who had been a member of the Council since 1911, is felt as a personal loss by his colleagues, and the loss to archaeological study is exceptionally great. He had made a special study of Greek, and in particular, of Hellenistic sculpture, and it was to him that archaeologists looked for that scientific treatise on Hellenistic Art, which is so much needed and has yet to be written. He was not a prolific writer; besides the brilliant series of articles on Damophon of Messene, in the *Annual* of the School at Athens, his published work consists of Vol. I. of the *Catalogue* of the Acropolis Museum and of articles in the *Journal* and other archaeological periodicals, but he had completed his allotted share of the publication recording the excavations at Sparta and has left the completed MS. of a *Short History of Greek Sculpture*, which will be published later.

The Council have pleasure in announcing that Viscount Bryce has accepted nomination as a Vice-President. The death of Captain Dickins left a vacancy on the Council which was not filled up during the year. Professor W. R. Lethaby is nominated to fill it. The following members retire by rotation, and, being eligible, are nominated for re-election: Professor W. C. F. Anderson, Mr. H. I. Bell, Lady Evans, Miss C. A. Hutton, Mr. H. E. Minns, Mr. Ernest Myers, Mr. A. J. B. Wace, Mr. H. B. Walters, and Mr. A. E. Zimmern.

The Future of Hellenic Studies.—Following on the discussion on this subject held on November 14th, 1916, at the First General Meeting of the Session (see below, and *J.H.S.* Vol. XXXVI. p. lviii) the Council were invited to send a representative to a conference between the representatives and delegates of societies interested in 'Humanistic' and 'Scientific' studies. In the unavoidable absence of the President, Dr. Leaf, the Honorary Secretary, Mr. George Macmillan attended. The proceedings were adjourned after a long discussion, and the President has undertaken, whenever possible, to attend any future meetings as the Society's representative. The Council feel that, though the matters before the Conference were primarily questions of school curricula, which hardly come within the Society's province, it is desirable to keep in direct touch with the movement, and, wherever possible, to emphasise the importance of giving the opportunity of learning Greek, while young, to every one who wishes to do so. In this connexion the Council decided to reprint last year, in *J.H.S.* XXXVI. 2, their original 'Memorandum on the Place of Greek in Education' issued in January, 1912.

General Meetings.—As stated above, the First General Meeting on Nov. 14th, 1916, was devoted to a discussion on 'the Future of Hellenic Studies'. As the matter was, at that time, attracting a great deal of attention, it seemed better to publish the speeches in *J.H.S.* XXXVI. 2, instead of including them, as customary, in the Annual Report for 1916-1917. They will be found on pages lviii. *sqq.*

At the Second Meeting on Feb. 13th, 1917, Mr. A. B. Cook read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on 'The Eastern Pediment of the Parthenon, its restoration and significance.' Printed copies of the restoration advocated were distributed at the Meeting. An illustration on a larger scale has been prepared and will be issued as one of the Plates in *Zeus*, Volume II., together with a detailed discussion of the views here summarised. Mr. Cook said:—

Vases representing the birth of Athena fall into five groups, according as they depicted: (1) Zeus in labour helped by the Eileithyiai; (2) Athena emerging from the head of Zeus, which had been cleft by Hephaistos; (3) Zeus attended both by the Eileithyiai and by Hephaistos; (4) Athena, armed but not yet fully grown, standing on the knees of Zeus; (5) Athena, armed and fully grown, standing before Zeus. It seemed probable that type (1) presupposed the cult of the Eileithyiai at Megara (so S. Reinach) and type (2) the cult of Zeus *Polios* at Athens. Type (3) was a fusion of types (1) and (2), due to Megarian potters resident in Athens. Types (4) and (5) were developments of the theme by Athenian potters. 'Phedias' design for the eastern pediment of the Parthenon formed the climax of the pre-existing ceramic types.

Attempts to restore the missing sculptures had been facilitated by two main facts. On the one hand, R. Schneider in 1880 justly emphasised the importance of the Madrid *pulex* and inferred from it that Phedias'

Zeus was seated in profile to the right with the axe-bearer behind him and Athena before. On the other hand, B. Sauer in 1890-1891 published and discussed the first minutely accurate chart of the traces left on the gable-floor. His investigation corrected Schneider's idea that Zeus occupied the middle of the pediment by showing that the central marks required two large-sized figures of about equal weight. This discovery, however, was by no means fatal to the relevancy of the Madrid *puleal* (cp. K. Schwerzek's reconstruction in 1904). Indeed, it enabled A. Prandtl in 1908 to produce the first really satisfactory filling of the central space, Prandtl taking his figures wholly from the *puleal*, plotted in Zeus enthroned facing right, Athena moving away from him but facing left, Nike hovering between them wreath in hand, and the axe-bearing god behind the throne of Zeus. Further, following Sauer, he put in next to Athena the extant torso (H) of a god starting back in surprise or alarm. Approaching the matter by a different route Sir Cecil Smith had in 1907 arrived at substantially similar results, so far as the three central figures were concerned. He cited the fine *krater* of the Villa Papa Giulio as evidence that Phedias filled the central space by Zeus seated towards the right, Athena standing before him, and Nike with a wreath hovering between them in the apex.

Before trying to extend the middle group to right and left, we must rectify one or two details. Another *puleal* (*Mon. ed. Ann. d. Inst.*, 1856, pl. 5) shows an eagle beneath the throne of Zeus. Copper coins of Athena (Imhof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.*, pl. Z, 8-10) represented an Athena identical with the goddess of the Madrid *puleal*: she carried her shield and commonly her spear too, in the left hand.

Torso H on the right, balancing Hephaistos on the left, was correctly identified by A. Furtwängler in 1896 with Poseidon. He should be restored in an attitude somewhat resembling that of Myron's Marsyas—witness the Finlay relief, which combined a similar Athena with Marsyas himself; the western pediment, which also places a Marsyas-like Poseidon next to an impetuously moving Athena; and two extant fragments referable to the Poseidon, viz., part of a colossal right hand, held up, thrown back, and spread open, and part of a colossal right foot, the heel raised from the ground. A. H. Smith's view that the torso was that of Hephaistos holding an axe above his head would hardly do; for not one of our vase-types showed Hephaistos in act to strike.

Beyond Hephaistos on the left and Poseidon on the right, broad iron bars, set askew in the floor, supported two heavy seated figures facing towards the centre in three-quarter position. These figures probably sat on rocks, not thrones. In 1901 Sir Charles Waldstein acutely recognised a marble statuette in the Dresden Albertinum as being a reduced copy of a half-draped Aphrodite from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. She should be restored, with an Eros standing at her knee, on the block adjacent to Poseidon. And the counterpoise to her was probably a Hera seated on a rock to the left of Hephaistos. It might fairly be surmised that this figure was copied for the Hera of the

'Theseion' frieze (B. Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion*, pl. 3, 7). The remaining gap on the south required two standing persons, and might be filled by Hebe and Herakles, as depicted on the *krater* of the Villa Papa Giulio. We should thus obtain a Pheidias prototype of the Lansdowne Herakles, which appeared to be a fourth-century modification (with reversed sides) of an original to be sought among the missing figures of the eastern pediment. As to the gap on the north, floor-marks showed that the two blocks behind Aphrodite were occupied by one figure standing and another advancing from right to left. The remaining block was covered by a rock supporting a third figure, which probably faced right. Since the vases regularly represented two witnesses of the birth for whom room had not so far been found, *viz.*, Hermes, with his *caduceus* and Apollon playing his *kithra*, we might legitimately instal the Hermes of the Villa Papa Giulio vase next to the extant figures on the north (cp. position assigned to Hermes by A. Furtwängler, E. A. Gardner, K. Schwerzek, J. N. Svoronos). If so, the device of giving wings to Hermes' head must be ascribed to Pheidias; we should further conclude that Pheidias used the *motif* of the supported leg, not only for relief-work, but also for sculpture in the round. Between Aphrodite and Hermes stood Apollon and one other, presumably Artemis (cp. restoration by K. Schwerzek). The type of the former was preserved with slight modifications by the Munich statue of Apollon *Kitharoides*, that of the latter by the Artemis Colonna at Berlin (cp. the British Museum *plike*, E 410).

The extant marbles must be named in accordance with the ceramic evidence. 'Iris,' as G. Loeschke pointed out in 1876, was Eileithyia (see A. S. Murray, J. Overbeck, W. R. Lethaby), for vase-paintings of the birth show two, and only two, persons flying from the scene, *viz.*, Hephaistos and Eileithyia. The seated goddesses beyond her were Demeter on the left and Persephone on the right; thanks to G. Dickins' brilliant restoration of Damophon's group at Lykosoura this was practically certain. Demeter was not grasping a torch, but perhaps holding a bunch of corn-ears and poppies; Persephone would have corn-ears and a sceptre. 'Theseus' was in all probability Dionysos (F. G. Welcker, A. Michaelis, E. Petersen, A. H. Smith), whom the vase-painters relegated towards the extreme left. He held a *thyrsos* in his right hand, nothing in his left. In the opposite wing of the gable Pheidias, again taking a hint from ceramic tradition, placed three goddesses in a row to the extreme right. The Madrid *putai* and the Tegel *replica* went far towards proving that they were the Moirai. Klotho held distaff and spindle, drawing back her right leg to let the spindle twirl. Lachesis was seated with the lots in her hand. Atropos, lying on the knees of Lachesis, was reading the lot that she had just drawn. The whole scene was flanked by Helios and Selene. It should be noted that the rising Sun thus synchronised with the setting Moon and fixed the time as that of a full moon (the *Dipoleion*?). Pheidias had indicated this by making Selene look round towards the new-born goddess and so reveal the full beauty of her face.

The rocky summit was the Akropolis itself: Athena must needs be born in Athens. The local setting was further shown by the *personnel* of the assembled gods. Every figure in the eastern pediment corresponded with an actual cult either on the eastward half of the citadel or at least in some easterly suburb of Athens. Thus the central group recalled Zeus *Polios* and Athena *Polios* with her associates in the Erechtheion, viz., Poseidon and Hephaistos. On the south Dionysos sat at ease on his rocky seat, a spectator in his own theatre hollowed out of the hillside below him. On the north the Moirai were seated on rocks fashioned like steps; and rock-cut steps actually led down from the north side of the Akropolis towards the Gardens, where the Moirai were worshipped. Hermes at the head of the steps suggested the oldest Hermes cult of Athens, that of the Erechtheion. Nor would it be difficult to find a similar justification for the remaining figures of the gable. The gods of the town had assembled, as it were, on their local Olympos to witness with joy and wonder the epiphany of the all-conquering goddess.

A discussion followed, in which Sir Charles Waldstein, Mr. G. F. Hill, and Professor W. R. Lethaby took part.

At the Third General Meeting, held on May 8th, 1917, Mr. Arthur H. Smith discussed a Graeco-Roman bronze statuette of new type, in private possession. By the courtesy of the owner, Mr. Smith was able to exhibit the statuette. His paper will be published in Part 2 of Vol. XXXVII. of the *Journal*. At the same meeting Professor W. R. Lethaby read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on 'Greek Art and Modern Art,' in which the question was discussed, 'What was Art to the Greek and what is it to us.' The lecturer said that his subject, which was rather vague and general, might at least find its point of departure in a little dry archaeology:—

In the Victoria and Albert Museum there were many drawings of great value as records; among them was a small plan and an elevation of the Temple at Bassae inscribed (in French), 'Plan of the temple of Bassae in Ancient Arcadia, by me discovered in the month of November in the year 1755: J. Bocher.' It was known that the temple had been discovered at this time by Bocher, but here was an original document. Then there were some fine drawings of the temples at Paestum by Reveley, and another set of drawings of the same temples which were remarkably accurate and seemed to have been drawn by an engraver. One of two names, written at the back of one of these drawings, was 'W. Cowen, 1820,' and as Cowen was a painter and etcher who worked much in Italy there was little doubt that these valuable drawings might be attributed to him. The drawings in a fourth set concerned them more: they were ten minutely accurate views of Athens made just a century ago. These drawings had been attributed to Inwood, but there were two better claimants in G. L. Taylor, an architect, and R. Purser, a water-colour painter, who travelled together in Greece in 1818. It happened that in the circulation department of the same

Museum, there were four other views of the Acropolis and the Parthenon which were left to it by Taylor when he died. These bore such a close resemblance to the other set that there could not be a doubt of their connexion, but the general topographical views of the first-mentioned drawings were so accomplished that the lecturer was inclined to think they might be by Purser rather than by Taylor. There was a drawing by Purser in the British Museum, and inspection of this might settle the point. These delicate drawings, showing the Acropolis crisp and clear in full light, were a precious record of Athens before it was touched by innovation, and when, as was said, the ruins were the least ruinous buildings in the decayed little city. The buildings erected by Pheidias to crown the Acropolis, lifted up, and dazzlingly brilliant, must have looked like heaven made visible. The enchanting fairness and gaiety of it all could not be imagined without putting together the hints derived from many sources. It was certain that the pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon were painted; the iris of the eye of Selene's horse could still be traced, and in many parts the draperies of the figures followed the forms so closely that unless they had been coloured it would have been impossible to make out their meaning. This was the case, for instance, with the clinging draperies of the Iris of the west front, the wind-blown vesture of the daughter of Cecrops, and the garment falling from the shoulder of a reclining 'Fate.' Again, many of the pedimental figures had bronze accessories of a kind which must have been gilded. Thus this same reclining 'Fate,' who was, he believed, Aphrodite, had bracelets and a necklace, while Athene of the west gable had earrings, a disc on her aegis and attached curls of hair. Once admitting a brilliant scheme of colouring as proved (and no one now would doubt it) it became probable to the lecturer that the new-born Athene of the eastern front must have resembled the gold and ivory statue of the interior in having gilt helmet, hair and draperies; these would have reflected the first rays of the rising sun and every day Athene must have been the first-born of the dawn. It had been said that the actions of the other figures of this gable showed that they were being wakened from sleep by Athene's cry. The head of the reclining 'Fate,' it might be remarked, was actually resting on the shoulder of the next figure, a point which Mr. Lethaby thought was not brought out in Mr. Cook's admirable restoration. He had himself before ventured to suggest that just as the actions of the figures on the eastern pediment were unified in response to the cry of Athene, so those of the western front showed that a blast of wind rushed through the pediment as Poseidon struck with his trident and produced his token. That this was also at the moment of dawn was shown by the waking action of some of the remoter spectator-figures, *i.e.*, the so-called 'Ilissos' (whom, following Leake, he himself supposed to be one of the Kings of the dynasty of Cecrops and Erechtheus) and the two figures on the right, who, as he had before suggested, were Kephalos and Procris. The lecturer then drew attention

to the high ideals of the Greeks, not only in Architecture and in Sculpture, but in the minor arts, such as their coinage. He pointed out the need for Art in modern cities, not as a luxury, but as an essential mode of civilisation, and a refreshment. Only a national art could be that, and by a national art he meant one based on the national history, inspired by the national ideals, commemorative of national heroes, in fact an art born from the brain and soul of the nation, not made to suit the chance whims and the average opinions of a committee.

Library, Photographic, and Lantern Slide Collections.—The subjoined table shows the number of books added to the Joint Library during the past four years, the number of visitors to it, and of books borrowed; also the number of slides added, of slides borrowed, and of slides and photographs sold each session.

SESSION.	A. LIBRARY.				B. SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS.			
	ACCESSIONS.		Visitors to Library.	Books taken out.	Slides added to Collection.	Slides hired.	Slides Sold to Members.	Photos Sold to Members.
	Books.	Vols.						
1913-14	442	484	1,072	1,087	Catalogue of 4,509 Slides.	3,746	1,681	439
1914-15	142	174	650	678	473	2,376	2,268	214
1915-16	97	109	960	673	268	1,854	851	327
1916-17	114*	201	908	490	83	1,391	329	6

Members will note that comparatively few books and slides have been added during the past three years. The Council thought it right to suspend the Library grant at the beginning of the war, and most of the additions made since have been gifts, not purchases. The additions do not include the periodicals received in exchange for the *Journal*, which are one of the most important features of the Library. Exchanges have recently been arranged with the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Rome* (a new periodical), and the *Publications in Classical Philology* of the University of California.

* Of these, 10 are the property of the Roman Society.

The Council acknowledge with thanks gifts of books from H.M. Government of India, from the Trustees of the British Museum, from the Egypt Exploration Fund, from the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, and from the following gentlemen: Monsieur Arbanitopoulos, Mr. C. R. Haines, Mr. G. F. Hill, Mr. A. Kyriakides, Mr. G. H. Milne, Monsieur H. Omont, and Dr. Slater.

In this connexion they also desire to record the special indebtedness of the Library to Mr. W. H. Buckler and Mrs. Guy Dickins. During the past year Mr. Buckler has presented no fewer than 84 volumes, including a collection of Spanish works on archaeology, the published records of the German excavations at Miletus, and the back volumes of the *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* from 1827-1892. Mrs. Dickins has filled some depressing gaps by gifts from her husband's library.

The following publishers have presented copies of recently published works: Messrs. Edward Arnold, Blackwell, Cope and Fenwick, Heinemann, Longmans, Green & Co., Macmillan & Co., and the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge, and of California, Columbia, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Yale.

Less than 100 slides have been added to the collection this year, but every effort has been made to maintain its high standard of quality, and a number of slides which had deteriorated have been replaced. Purchases of slides have been made from America, South Africa, and New Zealand; these are, in all cases, repeat orders and are a satisfactory proof of the quality of the Society's slides.

The Council beg to thank the following donors of slides, negatives, and photographs: The Royal Numismatic Society, the Committee of the British School at Athens, Mrs. Guy Dickins, Mr. C. R. Haines, Mr. G. F. Hill, Miss C. A. Hutton, and Mr. A. H. Smith.

Finance.—Under present conditions it has been a somewhat difficult task to balance income and expenditure, and at the same time to deal worthily with matters falling in the current year's work.

The article on the Elgin Collection added considerably to the cost of the *Journal*, and the promised grant of £25 towards the cost of the Catalogue of Sculptures in the Capitoline Museum fell due and has been paid. With these exceptions expenses have on the whole been kept down, while the annual grant to the British School at Athens has for the period of the war been reduced to £50.

It is to be regretted that in spite of economies our income has been exceeded by about £100. This would have been greater but for a very generous donation of £20 given by Mr. W. H. Buckler to help tide over present difficulties.

There has been a drop in the receipts from subscriptions of about £70, but it is hoped that some part of this amount will still come in.

The Council have to record with gratitude the receipt of a bequest

of £200 under the will of the late Rev. H. F. Tozer. This sum has been placed to the Society's Endowment Fund and invested in Exchequer Bonds. It will be remembered that this Fund was started by Mr. Macmillan some twelve years ago in order to strengthen the Society's reserves and provide a permanent source of income. The total donations to the Fund now amount to £780, and there is no doubt that as time goes on it will prove of valuable assistance to the revenues.

With a number of our members engaged on work of national importance and on active service, with whom it has been impossible to keep in touch, to quote actual figures on the membership roll would be misleading. The losses by death or resignation have been considerable, but it is gratifying to record that a good number of candidates have been elected to membership during the year.

The next year is likely to be even more difficult than the past so far as finances are concerned. The increase in the price of paper and of printing for the *Journal* will be a serious factor, while most probably the receipts from subscriptions will show a further fall. Nevertheless, the experiences of the past have always proved that the active support of members can be relied upon in times of emergency, and the Council feel sure that ways and means will not be wanting for adequately carrying out the objects of the Society, although the work must at present be considerably restricted.

The President announced the re-election of the Officers, retiring Vice-Presidents and Members of Council whose names were enumerated on the printed list previously circulated. He also announced that Viscount Bryce had been elected a Vice-President and Professor W. R. Lethaby a Member of Council.

The President moved the adoption of the Report, which resolution was seconded by Sir Edwin Pears and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Auditors proposed by Professor W. C. F. Anderson and seconded by Sir Joseph Hutchinson, was carried unanimously.

The President then delivered an address, illustrated by lantern slides, entitled 'From Trous to Assos with St. Paul,' and, after discussion, the proceedings concluded with a vote of thanks moved by Lord Bryce and seconded by Mr. F. W. Percival.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables:—

ANALYSIS OF RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	31 May, 1908.	31 May, 1909.	31 May, 1910.	31 May, 1911.	31 May, 1912.	31 May, 1913.	31 May, 1914.	31 May, 1915.	31 May, 1916.	31 May, 1917.
Subscriptions: Current.....	£ 759	£ 773	£ 771	£ 766	£ 747	£ 775	£ 765	£ 742	£ 685	£ 630
Arrears	70	82	82	84	78	87	60	61	59	37
Life Compositions	47	15	31	94	15	170	15	20	47	52
Libraries	188	190	197	195	195	201	214	189	192	174
Entrance Fees	78	94	107	65	50	134	54	31	19	21
Dividends	62	62	62	62	62	62	68	68	71	67
Rent: (R.S.A., B.S.R., and Archaeological Institute) ..	10	10	13	21	20	20	20	30	30	30
Endowment Fund	23	2	6	1	1	16	3	1	1	203
Donation	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20
"Excavations at Phylakopi," sales	18*	12*	7*	10*	4*	4*	5*	4*	1*	3*
"Facsimile Codex Venerus," sales	5*	—	—	12*	4*	4*	4*	—	—	—
Lantern Slides Account	5*	—	7*	—	12*	3*	—	57*	19*	1*
Emergency Fund (for Library Fittings)	—	—	327	97	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rent, Use of Library, &c. (Roman Society)	—	—	—	38	60	55	65	80	80	80
	1,263	1,240	1,610	1,417	1,235	1,472	1,279	1,289	1,204	1,344

* Receipts less expenses.

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	31 May, 1908.	31 May, 1909.	31 May, 1910.	31 May, 1911.	31 May, 1912.	31 May, 1913.	31 May, 1914.	31 May, 1915.	31 May, 1916.	31 May, 1917.
Rent	£ 100	£ 100	£ 109	£ 188	£ 205	£ 205	£ 205	£ 205	£ 205	£ 205
Insurance	15	15	13	14	13	10	9	10	10	10
Salaries	178	204	241	271	263	267	279	287	280	444
Library: Purchases & Binding Heating, Lighting, Cleaning, &c.	85	85	38	73	103	86	90	31	12	12
Sundry Printing, Postage, Stationery, etc.	—	140	126	131	176	193	161	124	81	99
Lantern Slides Account	—	17*	—	16*	—	—	130*	—	—	—
Photographs Account	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cost of Journal (less sales)	406	362	532	385	362	403	507	445	315	546
Grants	340	185	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	125
Roman Society, Expenses of formation	—	—	51	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
Library Fittings	—	—	408	18	—	—	—	—	—	—
Depreciation of Stocks of Publications and Remains ..	6	55	52	3	4	2	4	2	101	1
	1,249	1,161	1,740	1,310	1,327	1,352	1,573	1,264	1,195	1,272

* Expenses less sales.

Dr. JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES: ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1916, TO MAY 31, 1917. Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Printing and Paper, Vol. XXXVI., Part II., and XXXVII., Part I.	435	0	0			
Plates	17	0	0			
Drawing and Engraving	45	44	8			
Editing and Reviews	64	7	6			
Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members	64	2	8			
						53 13 0
Contributed towards cost by Mr. H. G. Evelyn White						14 0 0
Receipts for Advertisements						246 13 7
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account						2010 4 10

Note.—Owing to Vol. XXXVII., Part I., not being issued till after the close of the financial year, and actual figures being, therefore, approximate figures of the cost, but an estimated amount for the sake of this part have been included above.

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1916, TO MAY 31, 1917.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Slides and Photographs for Sale	9	9	14			
Slides for Hire	2	0	6			
Photographs for Reference Collection	2	17	10			
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	1	10	10 1/2			
						14 18 4

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1916, TO MAY 31, 1917.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Purchases	9	5	4			
Binding	3	15	0			
						13 18 7
By Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicates, &c.						
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account						13 18 7
						27 0 10

BALANCE SHEET, MAY 31, 1917.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
To Debit Payable	£ 320 10 4	By Cash in Hand—Bank	£ 351 1 8
" Subscriptions carried forward	441 5 3	Assistant Treasurer	53 18 0½
" Suspense Account	1 1 0	Petty Cash	30 15 8
" Endowment Fund	780 4 0		341 18 4½
(Includes legacy of £250 from the late Cotton Adam Farrar and £200 from the late Rev. W. H. Turner)			143 4 1
" Emergency Fund (Library Filings and Furniture) Total Received	304 18 0		
" Life Compositions and Donations— Total at June 1, 1916	1909 19 0	Investments (Life Compositions)	1384 3 11
Received during year	25 15 9	" (Endowment Fund)	770 9 0½
			2154 3 11
Less carried to Income and Expenditure Ac- count—Members deceased	1915 14 0	Less Reserved against Depreciation	100 0 0
	32 10 0		2054 3 11
	1883 4 0	Emergency Fund—Total Expended	426 9 0
		" Valuations of Stocks of Publications	427 6 0
		" " Library	350 0 0
		" Expenses "Strabo" carried forward	1 1 10
		" Balance from Income and Expenditure Account	117 6 10
		Less Excess of Assets at May 31, 1916	80 9 0½
		Balance—Deficiency at May 31, 1917	30 17 9½
			£3850 12 0

Examined and found correct

(Signed) C. F. CLAY,
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

FIFTEENTH LIST OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

ADDED TO THE

LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY

SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE CATALOGUE

1916—1917.

With this list are incorporated books belonging to the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. These are distinguished by R.S.

NOTE.—The Original Catalogue published in 1903, with all the supplements appended, can be purchased by members and subscribing libraries at 3/6 (by post 4/-). Applications should be made to the Librarian, 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C. 1.

R.S. Allen (J. T.) *Greek acting in the fifth century.* [Univ. of California Publ. in Class. Phil., Vol. II, No. 16.]

8vo. Berkeley, Ca. 1917.

R.S. Allison (Sir R.) *Cicero on old age. Translated into English verse.*

8vo. 1917.

Amaduzzi (G. C.) See Venuti (R.).

Archaeologia Oxoniensis. Pts. I-VI.

8vo. Oxford. 1892-1895.

Aurelius (Marcus) *The Communings with himself of.* Revised Text and Translation by C. R. Haines. [Loeb Class. Libr.]

8vo. 1916.

Basu (M. N.) See India. Index to classified catalogue of the library of the Director-General of Archaeology.

Beauley (H. J.) *Translator.* See Emanuel (M.).

Becker (G. G.) *Augusteum, ou description des monumens antiques qui se trouvent à Dresde.* 3 vols. in 1.

Fol. Leipzig. 1804.

Bedford Marbles. *Outline Engravings and Descriptions of the Woburn Abbey Marbles.* [Plates after drawings by Corbould.]

Fol. 1822.

Beger (L.) *Contemplatio gemmarum quarundam dactyliothecae Gorlaci.*

4to. Brandenburg. 1697.

Bell (H. I.) *The Byzantine Servile State in Egypt.* [Journal of Egypt. Arch. IV., Pts. II, III.]

4to. 1917.

- Bell (H. I.)** *Editor.* See British Museum, Greek Papyri, Vol. V.
- B. (H.) [Blundell (Henry)]** An Account of the statues, busts, baso-relieves, cinerary urns, and other ancient marbles at Ince.
4to. Liverpool. 1803.
- Boetticher (K.)** Der Zophorus am Parthenon.
8vo. Berlin. 1875.
- British Museum.**
Department of MSS.
Greek Papyri, Vol. V. Catalogue with texts. Fol. 1917.
Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.
Report by Mr. Newton of his proceedings at Corfu relative to objects missing from the Woodhouse collection of Antiquities. 8vo. N.D.
Inscriptions —
A Guide to the select Greek and Latin inscriptions. 1917.
- Brown (J. Coggin)** See India. Catalogue of Indian Museum at Calcutta.
- Browne (H.)** Our Renaissance. Essays on the reform and revival of classical Studies. 8vo. 1917.
- Bryant (J.)** A dissertation concerning the War of Troy. 2nd edition corrected. See Troy, Tracts on. 4to. 1799.
- Bryant (J.)** An expostulation addressed to the British Critic. See Troy, Tracts on. 4to. Eton. 1799.
- Bryant (J.)** Observations upon a treatise entitled A Description of the Plain of Troy by Monsieur le Chevalier. See Troy, Tracts on. 4to. Eton. 1795.
- Brunn (H.)** Miscellaneous Essays. 1843-1884.
- Burch (V.)** See Harris (R.)
- Burns (C. Dellsie)** Greek Ideals. A Study of Social Life. 8vo. 1917.
- Byrne (M. J.)** Prolegomena to an edition of the works of Decimus Magnus Ausonius. 8vo. New York. 1916.
- Cabrera (A. P.)** Arqueología Ebusitana [Reprinted from the *Memorias*]. 4to. Barcelona. 1913.
- California, University of.** Publications in Classical Philology. Vol. I. 1904-1908. Vol. II. 1911-1916. 8vo. Berkeley, Ca. *In Progress.*
- Carpenter (Rhys)** The Ethos of Euripides. [Archives of Philosophy, No. 7.] 8vo. New York. 1916.
- Chandler (R.)** The History of Ilium or Troy: including the adjacent country and the opposite coast of the Chersonesus of Thrace. See Troy, Tracts on. 4to. 1802.
- Chase (G. H.)** Catalogue of Arretine Pottery. [Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.] 4to. Boston. 1916.
- Chevalier ()** Description of the Plain of Troy. See Troy, Tracts on. 4to. Edinburgh. 1791.

Commentationes philologicae in honorem Th. Mommsen.

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- n.s. Conrad (C. C.) On Terence, *Adelphoe*, 511-516. [Univ. of California Publ. in Class. Phil., Vol. II., No. 15.]
8vo. Berkeley, Ca. 1916.
- n.s. Corbellini (G.) See Reina (F.) and Ducci (G.).
- Coronelli (M.) *Memorie istorio-grafiche delli Regni della Morea e Negroponte.* Fol. 1686.
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- Cousens (H.) See India. The Archaeological Survey of. XXXVII.
- Cruikshank (A. H.) *The Future of Greek.* 8vo. 1917.
- n.s. D'Alton (J. F.) *Horace and his Age. A study in historical background.* 8vo. 1917.
- Daubeny (Ch.) *On the Site of the Ancient City of the Aurunci.* 8vo. Oxford. 1846.
- n.s. De Sanctis (G.) *L'Età delle Guerre Puniche.* 2 vols. [Vol. III. of *Storia dei Romani.* Nos. 71, 72 of *Bib^l di Scienze moderne.*] 8vo. Turin. 1916.
- Dobson (J. F.) *A Study of the Pervigilium Veneris.* [Occasional Publications of the Classical Association, No. 6.] 8vo. Cambridge. 1916.
- n.s. Ducci (G.) See Reina (F.) and Corbellini (G.).
- Edwards (J. B.) *The Domesman in Attic Life.* Wisconsin. 1916.
- Egypt Exploration Fund.**
Græco-Roman Branch.
Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XII. 8vo. 1916.
The Inscriptions of Sinai, Part I. Introduction and Plates. Gardiner (A. H.) and Peet (T. E.).
Fol. 1917.
- Emanuel (M.) *The Antique Greek Dance,* translated by H. J. Beaufey. 8vo. New York and London. 1916.
- Eitrem (S.) *Beitrag zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte. II. Kathartisches und rituelles.* 8vo. Kristiania. 1917.
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8vo. Cambridge. 1916.
- Friederichs (K.) *Die Philostratischen Bilder.* 8vo. Erlangen. 1860.
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- Gaselee (S.) *The Greek MSS. in the Old Seraglio at Constantinople.* 8vo. Cambridge. 1916.
- Gazette des Beaux-Arts.* 4^{me} Période, Vol. XIII. *In Progress.*
- Glover (T. R.) *From Pericles to Philip.* 8vo. 1917.
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- Gyllius (P.) *De Topographia Constantinopolis et de illius Antiquitatibus* lib. IV. 12mo. Lugduni Batavorum. 1632.
- Haines (C. R.) *Translator*. See *Aurelius (Marcus)*.
- Hancock (J. L.) *Studies in Stichomythia*. [Univ. of Chicago Publ.] 8vo. Chicago. 1917.
- Harrer (G. A.) *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria*. 8vo. Princeton, N.J. 1915.
- Harris (R.) *The Ascent of Olympus*. 8vo. 1917.
- Harris (R.) *The Origin of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel*. 8vo. Cambridge. 1917.
- Harris (R.) *Picus who is also Zeus*. 8vo. Cambridge. 1916.
- Harris (R.) *Testimonies, Part I*. See also *Burch (V.)*. 8vo. Cambridge. 1916.
- Haussoullier (B.) *Traité entre Delphes et Pellana*. [Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études, No. 222.] 8vo. Paris. 1917.
- R.S. Haverfield (F.) *Medius Claytonensis: the Roman bronze measure from Carvoran*. [Arch. Ael. 3rd Ser. Vol. XIII.] 8vo. Newcastle-on-Tyne. 1916.
- R.S. Haverfield (F.) *Some Roman Conceptions of Empire*. [Occasional Publications of the Classical Association, No. 4.] 8vo. Cambridge. N.D.
- Headlam (W. G.) See *Sophocles. The Fragments of*.
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- India. *The Archaeological Survey of. XXXVII. Bijapur and its architectural remains*. By H. Cousens. 4to. Bombay. 1916.
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- Lacey (R. H.)** *The Equestrian officials of Trajan and Hadrian: their careers. With some notes on Hadrian's reforms.* 8vo. Princeton. 1917.
- Lenormant (C.)** *Mémoire sur les Peintures que Polygnote avait exécutées dans la Lesché de Delphes.* 4to. Paris. N.D.
- Littmann (E.)** See *Sardia*. Vol. VI. *Lydian Inscriptions, Part I.*
- Livingstone (R. W.)** *A Defence of Classical Education.* 8vo. 1916.
- Livy.** Book XXII. See *Peskett (A. G.)* *Editor.* [Pitt Press Series.] 8vo. Cambridge. 1917.
- Lucanus (M. Annaeus)** *De bello civili, Lib. VIII.* See *Postgate (J. P.)* *Editor.* [Pitt Press Series.] 8vo. Cambridge. 1917.
- Macdonald (G.)** *The Evolution of Coinage.* [Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature.] 8vo. Cambridge. 1916.
- Mackail (J. W.)** *Penelope in the Odyssey.* [Occasional Publications of the Classical Association, No. 5.] 8vo. Cambridge. 1916.
- McKenna (S.)** *Translator.* See *Plotinus.*
- Martialis (M. Valerius)** *Epigrammatum Libri.* Edited by L. Friedländer. 2 vols. 8vo. Leipzig. 1886.
- Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.** Vol. I. [School of Classical Studies, 1915-1916.] 4to. Bergamo. *In Progress.*
- Merrill (W. A.)** *Criticism of the Text of Lucretius.* Parts I and II. [Univ. of California Publ. in Class. Phil.] 8vo. Berkeley, Ca. 1916.
- Meyer (Paul M.)** *Griechische Texte aus Ägypten.* 4to. Berlin. 1916.
- Miller (K.)** *Itineraria Romana. Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana dargestellt.* 4to. Stuttgart. 1916.

- Mommsen (Th.)** *Le Droit Public Romain*. 8 vols. [Manuel des Antiquités Romaines.] 8vo. Paris. 1889-1893.
- Moore (C. H.)** *The Religious Thought of the Greeks from Homer to the Triumph of Christianity*. 8vo. Cambridge, Mass. 1916.
- Morritt (J. B. S.)** *Additional remarks on the topography of Troy*, etc. See *Troy*, Tracts on. 4to. 1800.
- Morritt (J. B. S.)** *A vindication of Homer and of the ancient poets and historians who have recorded the siege and fall of Troy*. See *Troy*, Tracts on. 4to. York. 1798.
- Oehman (H.)** *Porträttet den grekiska plastiken. En konsthistorisk Studie*. 8vo. Helsingfors. 1910.
- Oldfather (W. A.)** *Studies in the history and topography of Locris*, I, II. [Reprinted from *A.J.A.* Second Series, Vol. XX. (1916), Nos. 1, 2.] 1916.
- Omont (H.)** *Minotaur Mynas et ses missions en Orient, (1840-1855)*. [Mém. de l'Acad. des Inserr. et B.-L. Vol. XL.] 4to. Paris. 1916.
- Paspali (A. G.)** *Études sur les Tchinghianes ou Bohémiens de l'Empire Ottoman*. 8vo. Constantinople. 1870.
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- Peet (T. E.)** *Editor*. See *Egypt Exploration Fund. The Inscriptions of Sinai*.
- Perry (Chas.)** *A View of the Levant: particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt and Greece*. 4to. 1743.
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- Postgate (J. P.)** *Editor*. See *Lucanus (M. Annaeus)*.
- Reina (F.)** *Livellazione degli antichi acquedotti Romani*. See also Corbellini (G.) and Ducci (G.) 4to. Roma. 1917.
- Rennell (J.)** *A Treatise on the comparative Geography of Western Asia*. 2 vols. 8vo. 1831. [Maps missing.]
- Report of the Proceedings of the Council for Humanistic Studies.** [Education, Scientific and Human.] See also Kenyon (Sir F. G.).
- Rigaud (S. P.)** *On the Arenarius of Archimedes*. 8vo. Oxford. 1837.
- Roberts (W. Rhys)** *Greek Civilization as a Study for the People*. [Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. VII.] 8vo. N.D.
- Robinson (C. E.)** *The Days of Alkibiades*. 8vo. 1916.

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- Roussel (P.)** Les Cultes Égyptiens à Délos. [Annales de l'Est publiées par la Faculté des Lettres de l'Univ. de Nancy.] 8vo. Paris. 1916.
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- Stebbing (W.)** Virgil and Lucretius. 8vo. 1917.
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- Taylor (A. E.)** Plato's Biography of Socrates. [Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. VIII.] 8vo. 1917.
- Theophrastus.** Enquiry into Plants. Translated by Sir Arthur Hort. [Loeb Class. Libr.] 2 vols. 8vo. 1916.
- Thavenot (J. de)** Relation d'un Voyage fait au Levant. 4to. Paris. 1664.
- Treu (G.)** Griechische Thongefässe in Statuetten- und Büstenform. [53. Berlin Winkelmannsprog.] 4to. Berlin. 1875.
- Trevelyan (A. A.)** A History of Greek Economic Thought. 8vo. Chicago. 1916.
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Antiquities in the Collection of Lord Lyonfield.
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FOURTH LIST OF
ACCESSIONS TO THE CATALOGUE OF SLIDES
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 1990 Asklepios. Marble statue. From the Deepdene Collection (*Sale Cat.* No. 254).
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 9531 **Persia**, Darius and sigloi. King with spear. Earliest groups.
 9532 " " " " " " Later groups.
 9533 " " " " " " Latest groups.
 9534 " " " King shooting or carrying dagger. *London sigloi*.
 9535 " " " King with dagger, or in half-figure.
 9536 " Sigloi from Milne's find. (*N. Chr.* 1916, Pl. I.)
 9537 " Darius of Cyrus the Younger. Punch-marked sigloi. (*N. Chr.* 1916, Pl. I, 2-9.)
 9538 " Sigloi. Punch marks. (*N. Chr.* 1916, p. 5.)
 9539 **Rhégium**, R. *Rostrack*. (*N. Chr.* 1916, Pl. VII 11-12.)
 9535 **Syracuse**, R. 15 litrae (*N. Chr.* 1916, p. 129; and R. *Rostrack* (*Ibid.* 1916, pp. 240 f.).
 9536 " R. 5th century. (*N. Chr.* 1916, Pl. VIII 5-7.)
 9530 " R. Modallum (Klamm) from broken die; Volsa, R. Kiondoton. (*N. Chr.* 1916, Pl. IV 11, 1, 2.)
 9544 }
 9545 } **Antiochus VIII.** of Syria. Tetradrachms showing development of portrait.
 9546 }
 B2077 **Augustus**, R. of U. Plotina Rufus and M. Marcius Tullus and 'Altar of Lyons'. (*N. Chr.* 1915, Pl. XVI 2.)
 B2071 **Augustus**. Aeneas of C. Caesio Celer. (*N. Chr.* 1915, Pl. XVI 1.)
 B2078 **Galba**, R. (*N. Chr.* 1915, Pl. XVI 6) and Otba (Alexandria), R.
 B2079 **Nero**, R. (*N. Chr.* 1915, 1, 2.)
 B2072 " R. (" Pl. II 4, 5, 8.)
 B2073 " R. (" " 6, 7, 9.)
 B2074 " R. Four obverses. (*N. Chr.* 1915, Pl. II 10-12, etc.)
 B2075 " R. (*N. Chr.* 1915, Pl. II 3, etc.)
 B2076 " R. (" 1915, " XVI 3-5.)
 B2161 **Philip Senior**, Otavilla and Philip Junior. Denarii.
 B2165 **Postumus**. Denarii.
 B2166 " Denarii with Labours of Hercules.
 B2164 **Salonina**, Valerian Junior and Postumus. Quinarii.
 B2162 **Trajan Decius**, Treb. Gallus, Valerian, Gallienus. Denarii and quinarii.
 B2163 **Valerian** and Gallienus. Denarii.
 B2080 **Vespaasian**, R. *Aedon* P.R. and *Sigais* *emptis*.
 4529 **Coins** showing Armenian head-dress. (1) (2) Antony and Cleopatra. (3) Augustus.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus *ε* should be represented by *e*, the vowels and diphthongs *υ*, *αι*, *οι*, *ου* by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final *-οε* and *-οι* by *-ue* and *-um*, and *-ου* by *-ev*.

But in the case of the diphthong *αι*, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved, also words ending in *-ου* must be represented by *-um*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g. *Prisne*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in *-ου*, as *Λέγρον*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-ον* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike Homonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*, *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *υ* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *aparyomenos*, *diadumenes*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *argis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boile*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions:—

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34.

or—

Six, *Protagoras* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; e.g. Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A.-E.M.* = Archæologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Instituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archæologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archæologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitt. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.
Baummeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Alterthums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Sculpt. = British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.
B.M. Terracottas = British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.
B.M. Vases = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R. = Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Instituto.
Busolt = Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
C.R. St. Pé. = Comptes rendus de la Commission de St. Petersburg.
Dar. Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. O.G.I. = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
Dittenb. Syll. = Dittenberger, Syllage Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Ep. 'Apk. = 'Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.
Gerh. A.F. = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelahrte Aussagen.
Heul. H.N. = Heul, Historia Numorum.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.¹
I.G.A. = Rühl, Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archæologischen Instituts.
Jahrbuch. = Jahrbuch des Oesterreichischen Archæologischen Instituts.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Klio = Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Instituto.
Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Alterthum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

¹ The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the *Corpus of Greek Inscriptions*, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed as follows:—

<i>I.G.</i>	I.	=	Inscr. Atticae anno Eusebii verisimiles.
"	II.	=	" Asiae quae est inter Euseb. ann. et Augusti tempora.
"	III.	=	" Asiae Romanae.
"	IV.	=	" Argolidis.
"	VII.	=	" Megaridis et Boeotiae.
"	IX.	=	" Graeciae Septentrionalis.
"	XII.	=	" insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum.
"	XIV.	=	" Italiae et Siciliae.

- Niese = Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.
 Num. Chr. = Numismatic Chronicle.
 Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.
 Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
 Philol. = Philologus.
 Ramsay, C. B. = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.
 Ramsay, Hist. Geog. = Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.
 Reinach, Rép. Sculpt. = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.
 Reinach, Rép. Vase = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints.
 Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.
 Rev. Et. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.
 Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.
 Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.
 Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.
 Rom. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.
 Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.
 S.M.C. = Sparta Museum Catalogue.
 T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.
 Z. f. N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

- [] Square brackets to indicate additions, i.e. a lacuna filled by conjecture.
 () Curved brackets to indicate alterations, i.e. (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.
 < > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, i.e. to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
 . . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.
 - - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.
 Uncertain letters should have dots under them.
 Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.
 The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, ^h.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions*—

- () Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.
 [] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
 < > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.

THE EARLIER TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHEBUS.

The Sculpture.

THE most remarkable characteristic of the temple built in the sixth century was the figure sculpture which surrounded the lower drums of the columns on one or both of the fronts. This feature was certainly not an architectural freak, and the band of figures must either have been thought of as a sculptured dado or derived from Egyptian prototypes such as the sculptured columns of Medinet Abou. Both antecedents may have influenced the choice, but the former was a sufficient and the more probable source. The sculptured dado was the first form of sculptured 'frieze'; in 'Mycenaean' palaces dados of plain or sculptured slabs faced and protected the lower parts of crude brick walls. The two fragments of slabs with reliefs of oxen from Mycenae in the Elgin collection formed part of such a dado. The great Assyrian and Persian slabs followed the same traditions of structure and decoration, and recent explorations of Hittite sites have shown that the sculptured dado was a fundamental tradition in the arts of Asia Minor. Not only did the sculptured bands of the Nereid Monument, the tomb at Trysa, and the Mausoleum fall in with this rule of the dado, but we find in it the first cause of the sculptured pedestals of the Hellenistic temple at Ephesus and of the podium of the Altar of Pergamon—the king of all dados.

At the Croesus temple at Ephesus the sculptured band appeared on parts of the walls at the antae as well as on the columns. In the basement of the British Museum are some fragments of bulls carved in relief on large walling blocks (*B.M. Excavations at Ephesus*, Pl. I. in text vol.). The heads of the beasts projected from a return at right angles to the direction of their bodies, and they must have been a good deal like the Assyrian portal guardians on a smaller scale (Fig. 1). A hoof also shows that it was at an angle;

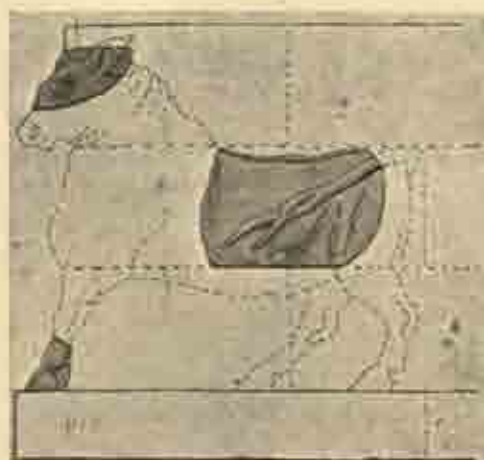


FIG. 1.

there are parts of two companion bulls, and this is further proof that they came from the antae. There was a bed joint directly below the hoof which probably rested on a projecting plinth course as did the later pedestal sculptures. The beasts may have been carved on three courses of the walling stones, but without further examination I cannot say so with certainty, and I should say that my sketches are rough approximations. Probably there was a similar beast on each face of the antae, and they would have corresponded with the sculptured drums of the columns.

A fragment (Fig. 2) of a man standing at an angle with a slightly inclined masonry 'face' at his back and a bed joint through his thighs (No. 32) must have belonged to some feature other than the drums but ranging with them. The position of the bed-joint would be suitable for a figure carved on three courses of masonry, so that it seems probable that the figure was on the same level as the oxen. The best hypothesis to explain the 'face' slightly inclined from the upright and the figure at an angle seems to be that it formed the



FIG. 2

left-hand jamb of the great doorway. The external jambs of the doorway are broken away and, as far as can be judged, the conditions are entirely suitable for what is here suggested. Another fragment (No. 31), a thigh of a figure facing to the right with a bed-joint at the top, seems as if it might be part of a companion figure from the other door-jamb. The plinth of the walls was about 15 inches high, with a projection of nearly 2 inches, and the two lowest courses of walling stones were about 20 inches high. The rest of the courses are shown of similar height, and Wood speaks of having found four in all. Three courses of 20 inches each, above the plinth, appear to suit the evidence given by the fragments of oxen and men.

The restorations of the sculptured drums offered in the official publication are not happy; their general cylindrical form has been lost and the evidence is against the deep, hollow moulding above the heads of the figures which undermines the background from the general size of the upper part of the column. An examination of the stones at the British Museum shows that the projecting parts of the sculpture conformed closely to a cylindrical mass; the relief was only about 3 inches at the feet and increased to 8 or 9 inches at the heads and shoulders of the figures. The background of these reliefs, therefore, slanted back more quickly than the general diminution of the columns.¹

Some years ago, Mr. Pinker of the Museum was showing me the stones in the Basement, when he saw that two curved fragments fitted together at a fracture, and formed about a third of the diameter at the upper edge of a sculptured drum. This has since been put into the gallery; it has a fillet of about one-eighth of an inch projection. Another fragment from the top

¹ This enlargement of the bottom of the shaft recalls a conical expansion of the columns found at Naucratis.

edge of a drum (*Atlas*, xvii. 47) also shows that there was no deep cavetto above the reliefs. 'On the top bed is a setting line showing that the fragment belonged to one of the sculptured columns;' the sculpture rose to the full height of the stone of this drum. A diagram of the scheme is given in Fig. 3. B is the base, C the column, D the bottom drum with the sculpture S.

The far projecting cavetto, it seems, must only have been imagined in the first place so that pieces of a large band of leaf-moulding might be set above the sculptured drum at the Museum. In the volume of text it is said—that the [leaf] member crowned the sculptures is an inference from the radius which is exactly appropriate. Even now, notwithstanding the large increase of the radius given by the fictitious cavetto, the pieces of leaf band are segments of too great a diameter. On the Plate XVI, it may be seen that the curve is in fact too flat for the position given to it. It is suitable for a base, and it has been taken for a base in Mr. Henderson's restorations, although the cavetto around the top of the drum has been retained by him to the undermining of the shaft, as said above. Probably the bottoms of the shafts resting on the drums had an ordinary moulding of one or two beads, much like the other columns. (I do not know any evidence for the cavettos restored above the later drums.)

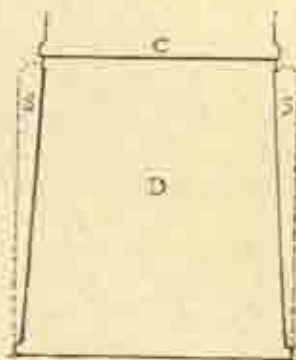


FIG. 3.

Most of the figures appear to have been arranged processionally. One (No. 47) was walking to the right, supporting a basket or other offering with a raised right hand. The suggestion that this was a caryatid-like figure facing to the front, and that the hand belonged to another figure, does not seem necessary.

One of the heads of these figures is in a fairly good condition, and could be easily restored on a plaster cast. Another face (*Atlas*, xvi. 6) is nearly perfect. The riches of the British Museum will not be adequately brought out until a History of Greek Sculpture is written, illustrated by our own collections instead of by inaccessible examples.

The entablature had no frieze, but a deep gutter front, which I shall call a parapet, was covered with delicately wrought figure sculpture. This parapet was about 2 feet 10½ inches (or 3 Greek feet) high; and supposing that there were three gutter stones to a columniation—as at the later temple—each of the stones would have been about 5 feet 9 inches long, having a fine lion's head spout in the middle. The profile was not curved, but it was slightly inclined forward. It was a developed copy of tile prototypes, several of which had moulded reliefs on their front surfaces,² and it marks a stage of transition between the all-tile roof and the all-marble roof.

² See one from Thasos, *A.J.A.* xix: p. 94; *Mitt. Arch. Inst.* (Rome, 1906), Pl. II, p. 64.

In this case the gutter-front was made especially high to hide the tiled roof as much as possible.

There must of course have been a vertical joint in the middle of each or some of the spaces between the several lions' heads. Many of the existing fragments show the joints, and these, it is evident, in several cases passed through a figure or a group.

By uniting two or three fragments Dr. Murray was able to reconstruct one group, and he set up 'an attempted restoration of a combat between a Lapith and a Centaur.' The general idea of this restoration will hardly be questioned, but the opponent of the Centaur need not have been one of the Lapiths, for they were not usually armed. The most popular of all the Centaur subjects, Baur tells us, was the combat of Herakles and Nessos, at least in the archaic period. A great number of examples are found on black-figured vases. A good example is in the British Museum (Walters B. 537) of which Baur says 'the Centaur is in the usual stumbling attitude and looks back'—words which might equally apply to the Ephesus group. In several of these representations Herakles is clothed² and fights with a sword; in some he grasps the arm of the Centaur. As Herakles was such an important personage in the later sculptures, it may be accepted that this group represented Herakles and the Centaur. From the greaves worn by Herakles in the Ephesus group we may infer that he was represented as fighting with a sword. A group of Herakles and Nessos by Bathycles of Magnesia appeared on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae with others of the cycle of his adventures.

As no vertical joint passes through the largest fragment from which the British Museum group is restored, I had doubts whether the subject could have been in the centre, between two lions' heads. If it was not, I should shift the Centaur further to the left, leaving room for one figure to the right of the group—this would be Dejanira. Mr. Arthur Smith tells me, however, that there is a watershed at the back; this suggests that the joints were in the alternate spaces.

If one subject from the Herakles stories has been identified it is probable that others were also represented, and this becomes all the more likely when we remember that the adventures of Herakles were also sculptured at the later Temple. Amongst the early fragments are the feet of an ox and the head of a lion, both of which may have belonged to the Herakles subjects.

The larger part of the figures were warriors fighting on foot or from chariots, several were prostrate, and one of these was trodden on by a horse's hoof. They had helmets, greaves, and cuirasses with shoulder straps and pendant flaps; they were armed with spears, swords, and shields. Probably in some cases a group was made up of two warriors fighting over a prostrate body. At the back of the warrior turned towards the left who is mounting

² See, for example, *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 373. The figure in the pediment at Aegina which was identified as Herakles by Fortwängler wears armour.

a chariot there is a vertical joint; it is evident that there would not have been room between this joint and the lion's head on the left for the completion of the group, and we must suppose that in this case and others the sculpture was carved almost irrespective of the lions' heads as was done in the Lycian monuments in the British Museum (Fig. 4). It is a mistake to think of the composition as entirely broken up into 'metope-like' groups; continuity was aimed at so far as possible. Some of the horses were rearing, and these might more easily have been carried over the lions' heads. Traces of sculpture appear close at the sides of some of the lions' heads.



FIG. 4.

I have associated two fragments together in Fig. 5, and thus obtain the key to a restoration of a warrior who fought in one of the typical attitudes which were so frequently repeated, as for instance on the frieze of the 'Treasury of the Cnidians,'⁴ at Delphi and in the pediment at Aegina:



FIG. 5.

compare also the figure on a vase illustrated in *A Companion to Greek Studies*, Fig. 67. The warrior leaned forward with right hand raised, thrusting with a spear; on the lowered and extended left arm would have been the shield. Even the long locks of hair appear again on these examples; at Aegina they were of lead separately attached; the flaps pendant from the cuirass occur again at Aegina. In the basement at the British Museum is the hand of a spearman who faces the other way (Fig. 6).

The date of the Aegina sculptures was about 480, of the painted vase about 500, and of the Delphi frieze about 520. It has been remarked by Mr. Arthur Smith that the Delphi frieze seems earlier than the Ephesus pampet, which it would appear can hardly be earlier than 520 B.C.

There were several chairs or thrones and seated figures, some of whom were females. These enthroned figures suggest an assembly of the gods watching a battle as at Delphi, the Theseum, and the Temple of Nike Apteros. A small fragment which is catalogued as probably a thunderbolt (*Atlas*, xviii. 2) seems rather to be the trident of Poseidon—compare a sixth century silver coin of Poseidonia. In the basement is a delicately sculptured left foot which was probably that of a seated figure, as it seems large in scale compared to the others.



FIG. 6.

Considering the resemblance of these sculptures to those of the frieze at Delphi, it becomes highly probable that the battle subject at Ephesus was the War of Troy in one case as the other. This subject was represented also

⁴ Usually so called. See Mr. Binswood's article in *Bull. Cor. Hellén.* 1912, p. 449.

in the pediment at Aegina, at Trysa in Asia Minor, and probably on the Nereid Monument. Subjects from the *Iliad* were frequently figured on the sixth century painted sarcophagi of Clazomenae.

The horses of the chariot groups were very well done, and the general type could be easily restored (Pl. 21, 24; Pl. XVIII. 55, 67, 71, and compare an early relief at Athens³). These chariots with warriors stepping into them again recall the frieze at Delphi (Fig. 5), on which the gods prepare to join the battle. Mr. Arthur Smith has already observed of our sculptured parapet: 'In many respects as to composition and detail its nearest parallel is the frieze of the Treasury of the Cnidians at Delphi. It has the same kind of subjects and similarities of treatment.' There were several female figures clothed in full soft draperies, some wearing shoes. One interesting fragment (Fig. 7) is of a female head covered by a sort of bonnet through which the hair was brought out to fall like a horse-tail (*Atlas*, xvii. 6). A similar fashion



FIG. 7.

seems to be followed for the head-dress of one of the sphinxes in the tympanum of a Lycian tomb in the British Museum. This is much decayed, but small reliefs of sphinxes found at the Artemision have 'pig-tails,' and similar tails appear on some Minoan works. Hair falling in a tail is found again on a beautiful grave stele from Thasos which can hardly be earlier than the fifth century (Collignon, *l.* Fig. 136). A pointed bonnet bordered with a similar wreath, but without the hair

being brought through the crown, is worn by the Amazon Antiope, in a well-known vase of fine early work, and as the pointed bonnet is such a common characteristic of Amazonian dress the Ephesus head was probably that of an Amazon.

Several fragments are catalogued as parts of Winged figures or Harpies (Nos. 39-44); and others (36-38) which were formerly described with this group, have now been separated as they 'appear to belong to a figure of Athene.' If we compare all these fragments with a sculptured block from the angle of a 'frieze' found at Didyma (Pontremoli and Haussoullier, Pl. XX.) on which is a Gorgon, it becomes evident that the relief figures at Ephesus including the supposed Athene, must have been similar. One of these figures either wore a snake-fringed aegis, or she had a collar and girdle of snakes. The head, hair, and earring of this supposed 'Athene' are exactly like those of the Didyma Gorgon. The fragment of the 'right arm of a figure with a looped and studded sleeve, and the feathers of a large wing spreading from the shoulders' (*Atlas*, Pl. XVII. 11), also closely resembles the corresponding part of the Didyma figure. Both figures, indeed, must have been so much alike as to suggest that they must have been carved by the same hand, and this raises the possibility that the Ephesus parapet was the work of a Milesian sculptor. When a full account of the excavations on the site of the temple at Miletus is published, we may find other parallels;

³ Collignon, *l.* p. 194.

in a short note I find mentioned 'fragments of painted tiles, with reliefs of Gorgons, heads of lions, lotus flowers, voluted acroteria, marble gutters, and much early pottery, filling the interval between Minoan and Archaic Greek Art' (Sixth statement of the excavations).

Another of the British Museum fragments from the supposed *Athene* is described as 'a hand which seems to be holding up a large fold of the skirt; two snakes are seen and parts of a pendant wing.' Another piece is 'from a figure half kneeling to the left' (as in the usual early scheme for the Gorgon) was noted in the old catalogue). This was in the gliding attitude of the *Didyma* figure, and, like that, the Ephesus Gorgons had four wings, as may be seen by the small fragment, Pl. XVIII. 47. The *Athene*-like figure was turned to the left, while the arm and wing above described belonged to a figure turned to the right. It is clear that there were at least two of these winged creatures, and as the *Didyma* Gorgon was at an angle, it is probable that in both cases there were four more or less similar creatures guarding every corner of the buildings to which they belonged. Those at Ephesus must have been at the ends of the parapet next the angles. The recently discovered sculptures of the pediment of the archaic temple at Corfu show that a similar guardian Gorgon occupied the centre. Another served as the acroterion of the earlier temple on the Athenian Acropolis, and the Nike of Delos is again very similar. As we go backwards in time, Gorgon, Nike, and Winged Artemis all seem to merge in one, and winged figures of Artemis were used as antefixes on some of the early Etruscan temples.* Eris seems to be another of the same brood (Gerhard, *Atlas*, x. Fig. 5) and Phobos also (see a coin of Cyzicus).

The War of Troy might well have occupied the whole of one side of the parapet, but the adventures of Herakles can hardly have been drawn out to a similar length; possibly they were supplemented by those of Theseus, as was the case at the later Temple, or there may have been a battle of Gods and giants as at the Treasury at Delphi.

The lions' heads of the parapet were very fine; two of the best preserved are brought into the Museum; the rendering of the teeth set into the jaws is most accomplished. Amongst the other smaller fragments are some muzzles, and one of these in the basement is the tongue of a lion gargoyle. A fine lion's head found at Himera (Dunry, vol. iii. p. 327) is of much the same type, and a complete restoration of one of the Ephesus heads should be made in plaster (Fig. 8). As has been shown above, fairly accurate drawn restorations of three or four divisions of the parapet could be made; one of Herakles and



FIG. 8.

* I had written this before I found a similar statement in Rodet's *Cybele*, 1909, where the Asiatic queen of the beasts and her artistic

descendants are fully treated. See also on Gorgons found at Sparta (*B.S.A.* xiii. p. 106).

the Centaur Nessos, another of warriors fighting, a chariot group, gods seated on thrones like those at Delphi, flying Gorgons in the short spaces between the angles and the first of the lions' heads.

The style of the sculpture, as has been said, is in close relation to that of the 'Cnidian' treasury at Delphi. The Gorgons' heads and the scheme of the parapet resemble details of the little temple of Dictæan Zeus in Crete, which was of wood or mud-brick and terracotta casings.⁷ The Gorgons so nearly resemble others at Miletus that they seem as if both sets were by the same artist. Some tiles found at Miletus ornamented with lotus flowers are so similar to the lotus decoration around the necking of the columns at Naucratis that it is clear that the latter had no special character, but was a normal example of early Ionic art. This art was almost wholly oriental in origin, having elements drawn from Crete, Egypt, and Mesopotamia.

The Architecture.

The restoration of the temple by Mr. Henderson in the British Museum publication is too visionary. An adequate record of what was actually found would have been far more valuable if kept apart from mere conjecture. Before all, memory of the facts observed on the site is lost it would, moreover, be useful if some parts of the evidence, especially in regard to the Primitive Structures, could be made clearer by diagrams, isolating special points from other intricate details.

Many years since, Fergusson pointed out that the seven widely-spaced columniations of the façade occupied a space equal to eight columniations of normal dimensions, and he suggested that the back of the temple had nine columns. The recent discovery of such an arrangement at the Great Temple of Samos raises this hypothesis to a high degree of probability.⁸

That the interior of the temple was known as the Naos, appears from the name Pronaos, used for the great pillared fore-hall in the inscriptions given by Wood. If, as I have before suggested, the naos of the later temple was not covered by a roof, this would have been the case with the earlier temple also. In the open area the cult statue would have occupied a covered shrine upon the great basis. This was the arrangement at the brother temple of Apollo at Didyma, the naos of which was 'an open court surrounded by pilasters [on the walls]. The statue of the god, the archaic work of Kanachos, was probably placed here in a special shrine; here also had been the olive tree under which Zeus and Leto had sat, and a sacred spring.'

The cult statue at Ephesus remained an archaic work in the latest temple. According to Pliny it was very ancient, and Vitruvius says it was of cedar wood. In the book of 'Acts' it is reported that it was said to have fallen from heaven. An imitation set up by Xenophon in Laconia is said to have been of wood instead of gold, therefore the Ephesian statue was covered with gold plates. It was a tall, rude figure standing between two

⁷ *R.S.A.*, xl. pp. 298 ff.

⁸ See *Journ. R.I.B.A.*, Feb. 1915.

animals. The story of the fall of the statue from heaven is a point in favour of the temple remaining open to the sky, as we know by analogous cases. If the naos were open there would not have been interior columns, at least not such as are shown on the restored plan. Certain foundations under the pavement of the naos were interpreted as supports to some of these internal columns: 'These foundations we conjecture to have been inserted to carry an inner order surrounding the central basis.' The large number of internal columns which are shown on the restored plan are not merely around the basis, but two long rows are suggested from end to end of the naos. But the foundations in question were considerably less than half the length required, occupying only the middle part of the interior of the Croesus temple, like the foundations of the more primitive structures; further it seems to be admitted that they were in part primitive. In the pronaos and the posticum there were other columns almost in the lines of these supposititious internal colonnades, but they had no such foundation walls. Whatever, then, these foundations were, they cannot be taken as evidence for internal ranks of columns; probably they represent the walls of one of the primitive temples, and possibly portions of them were taken out and rebuilt as part of the pavement platform of the Croesus temple. As will be shown, it is probable that the primitive temples had their great altars close in front of the basis, and such altars must have been in the open air. It is likely that this 'hypæthral' type would be carried forward in the later temples, and as the foundations of the great altar have been carefully but fruitlessly sought for outside their limits it seems just possible that, even in the later temples, the fire altar was in the uncovered internal courts.

The Croesus temple had a large drain which ran westward on the central axis; according to Wood it began at the central basis.—'The existence of this large conduit issuing from within the cella of temple D, and perhaps also from within the enclosure of temple C, argues that the spaces which it drained were to some extent open to the sky' (B.M. text, p. 263).

This idea of there being a central opening depends on the imagined inner rows of columns. That the naos was an open court is to my mind proved by the fact that its enclosing wall was exactly alike both inside and outside. The pavement was at the same level in the naos as in the peristyle; in fact it formed a continuous platform on which the walls were erected, and this pavement was throughout of slabs of irregular forms. On it was set a plinth alike on both sides; a deeper course above the plinth had draughted margins and picked surfaces, large rough bosses being left projecting in the middle of the surface of each block. It seems impossible to suppose that such masonry could be used in the interior of a cella; the fact that the great temple of Apollo at Didyma had an open naos is sufficient to make us consider a similar arrangement at the Artemision.⁹ There may have been

⁹ At Delphi there was a separate *andula* against the back wall of the cella (*J.H.S.* xxiii, 1913). At Bassae a separate small chamber contained the statue. At Olympia

the temple of Zeus seems to have been open till the fifth century, and so, according to Vitruvius, was the temple of Zeus at Athens.

some sacred tree or other mythical objects in the interior, and of course there would have been many statues other than the cultus image. The famous four Amazons which learned Germans have so carefully ascribed to as many authors, seem to me to be variations of one type. Instead of four competing designs by Phidias, Polycleitos and the others, I would see in them a group of Amazon attendants on Artemis from one workshop. The 'competition' was a myth of explanation by which it was possible to bring in the desirable name of Phidias.

Wood found about half the pavement of the naos in place; the great doorway was about 14 feet 9 inches wide and the doors opened on quadrants; the pronaos was enclosed in line with the antae by a strong metal screen.

The variety of detail in the order of the peristyle is a remarkable characteristic of the Croesus temple, and in this it agreed with the early temple at Naucratis. Such variety must have been general in early Ionic works; the fragments found at Neandria seem to suggest similar changes of details. One of the strangest forms at Ephesus is the capital which has large rosettes in place of volutes. As restored in the publication these rosettes are given pointed petals, but Dr. Murray's restoration at the Museum with rounded forms is according to the evidence, for pointed leaves, where they occur in other places, all have midribs, which these petals have not.

The leaf moulding of the 'echinus' assigned to this same capital (Pl. VII.) seems doubtful. One of the fragments shows the design Fig. 9.



FIG. 9.

What may have been the form of the angle capitals is problematical; certainly they cannot have been as drawn in the publication (Pl. XIV.), for the centre of gravity of the suggested capital is hardly over the supporting shaft, and it may be doubted whether such a capital could have rested in its place before it was weighted by the entablature. A third volute member of the normal size projecting in the diagonal direction is a possibility, or there may have been four volutes forming a cross on plan.

This solution would have been the best balanced construction, and it may be suggested that we can find in such an arrangement a reason for the narrowness and great length of the volute members. The curious capitals at Persepolis (c. 485 B.C.) have volutes in the four directions, and the columns to which they belong rest on bases ornamented with leafage, an idea which seems to be borrowed from the Croesus temple.¹⁰

A fragment at the Museum which appears to be part of a capital (Pl. X.) is difficult to explain. Mr. Pinker, the able foreman, told me that he thought it formed part of a capital, like the Egyptian palm capitals, and this is much more probable than the suggestion in the publication that it

¹⁰ Cf. Anderson and Spiers, *Architecture of Greece and Rome*, p. 57.

came from the upper part of a shaft. Another fragment (Fig. 78c in text) seems to be of similar character.

The remnants of the ordinary columns seem to suggest that as the shaft rose from the base it slanted back in a long curve or line almost straight, and thus conformed closely to the line of the background of the reliefs on the sculptured columns (Fig. 3). At the top the shaft was formed into a large circular 'tenon' which filled a socket 3 inches deep in the capital. The capitals of Naucratis were set on the shaft in a similar way which thus may be considered normal for early Ionic columns (Fig. 10). In these 'tenons' I would see one of several facts which suggest that the Ionic column was first developed as a free-standing column—such as the column of the Naxians—before it was adopted for temple architecture; the spreading and piled-up base also seems specially suited for isolated columns. It thus had an origin in common with the stele which tended to the same type. The column of the Naxians resembled some of the columns at Ephesus in having many narrow flutes and in other particulars.



FIG. 10.

It has been shown above that the antae rose above sculptured bulls. In the Basement of the Museum is a fragment of an immense egg-and-tongue member about 16 inches in height (Pl. IX). On the end and return of this piece is a trace of a large volute, the outer curve of which coincided with the profile of the egg-and-tongue. This was an anta capital. The width of the egg-and-tongue units is given as 384 m. Five of these would fill a length of about 1.92 m., and as the width of the wall is figured 1.93 m. there can be no doubt that this was the arrangement (Fig. 11). Several later capitals of this type have been found at Samos,¹¹ Miletus,¹² Priene, and Ephesus itself. Fig. 12 is from a fragment found at Samos.

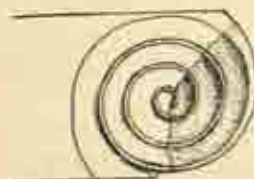


FIG. 11.

The entablature of the Croesus temple certainly had no frieze.¹³ It may be doubted whether the epistyle was not of wood; the old story of the architect's difficulty in fixing the great stone beam seems to refer to this Croesus temple, but it is difficult to suppose that a marble beam nearly 30 feet long was fixed above capitals which were so narrow transversely.¹⁴ In any case the epistyle would not have been of the high section suggested or, at the most, higher than wide. The cornice has been restored as a corona resting on one course of egg-and-tongue moulding. Two varieties of egg-and-tongue moulding were found; one is given with units 308 m. wide, and the other as 324 m., and it is most probable that the cornice was like the



FIG. 12.

¹¹ *Mith. Arch. Inst.* xxxvii.

¹² Pontremoli, Pl. XVIII.

¹³ As I have before shown of the later temple also.

¹⁴ The architect, we are told, wrote an account of the temple; is this likely of the sixth century?

normal later arrangements in having two egg-and-tongue members separated by a dentil course (compare the Treasury at Delphi, where a sculptured band took the place of the dentils¹⁸). The fact that no dentils have been recorded is of little consequence, for dentils most readily disappear; none are known which belonged to the later temple, or to the Nereid monument in the British Museum, and only slight traces of those of the Mausoleum exist (Fig. 13).

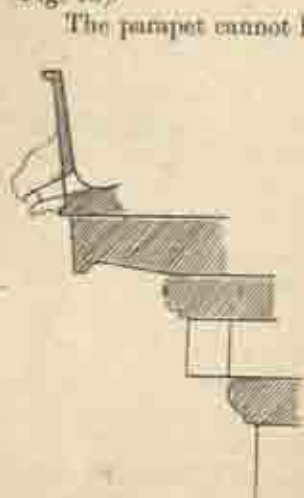


FIG. 13.

The parapet cannot have been applied to the pediment as shown, for a gable-cymatium was above the tile line, not below it. Mr. Henderson has himself modified this point in a drawing published later than the Atlas.

There is no evidence for the slope of the roof; the stone taken for this purpose in the publication belonged to the later temple, as is shown by the claw-tooling. Another stone catalogued as having belonged to a pediment is rather, I think, one of the irregularly shaped stones of the pavement of the Croesus temple. A fragment described as the horn of an altar (Fig. 79c) is more probably part of an acroterion, but even if it is, it hardly proves the existence of a pediment, for such finials might be put at the ends of the ridge of a hipped roof, and such a scheme of roofing at Ephesus would have lightened the work

over the immense spans, and moreover the beautifully sculptured parapet would not have been suppressed at the most important front. I cannot suggest this solution as more than a possibility, but it has recently been found that the back of the temple at Thermon had a hipped roof.

Painting.

Both the structural members and the sculpture were fully decorated with colour. An illustration in Wood's volume shows that the leaf-mouldings of the bases had blue grounds and red margins to the leaves, and some of the fragments in the Museum show traces of colour on the capitals and the upper terminations of the flutes of the shafts. 'The colours were of rich cobalt and more frequently a rich red. Several fragments of leaf-mouldings show faded yellow and brown which may be decayed remnants of bright yellow and dark red.' A gilt fillet of lead was inserted in a groove of one of the volutes. The lions' heads of the parapet seem to have been dull red, the jaws were vermillion with gleaming white teeth.

The sculptured figures on the drums of the columns had red hair and lips, and their draperies were decorated with fret-patterns and palmettes; doubtless details like the earrings were gilt.

¹⁸ Was this the first frieze proper?

The parapet had a bright red lower border and the ground of the reliefs was a fair blue, the figures being coloured like those on the columns. The general effect must have been like that of the better preserved frieze at Delphi. The whole must have been gay and glittering beyond imagination.

Ephesus and Hittite Art.

In the text of the B.M. publication several points of resemblance are noticed between some of the smaller objects found on the site of the temple and examples of Hittite art, and generally it is remarked that 'the art of the primitive treasure came very little under direct Egyptian influence but more under that of Mesopotamia.' As the sculptured dado, which probably suggested the sculptured drums, seems to have been an essential part of Hittite architecture, and the bull-bases of the ahtae, reconstructed above, so closely resemble another feature in Hittite structures, we are led to the enquiry whether there was not a direct Hittite strain in the art of Ephesus. At the rebuilding of the Temple of Artemis in the sixth century Croesus gave 'golden heifers' as well as many of the great marble pillars, and Herodotus begins his history with an account of the royal donor, King of Lydia and sovereign of the nations on this side the Halys, and adds that Ephesus itself was Lydian. Now two or three centuries before the time of Croesus Lydia had formed part of the great Hittite empire. Ephesus was connected with the capital of Lydia, and the latter with the further East, by the great 'Royal Road' which linked Asia to Europe. Some Hittite monuments still exist on this road near Ephesus, which must have been controlled by the Hittites, indeed they probably held Ephesus too, as it was the chief coast terminus of the road which from the evidence of the rock-sculptures we may suppose they had made.

'It is not extravagant to suppose from the evidence of the excavations made in Asia Minor that the region [of Ephesus] had been in the hands of that great oriental power the Hittites.'¹⁶ 'They were the founders of the Heraklid dynasty in Lydia, and Babylonian art was carried by them to the Greek seas. Greek religion and mythology owed much to them; even the Amazons of Greek legend prove to have been the warrior priestesses of the great Hittite goddess.'¹⁷ 'Cities like Ephesus . . . had received and retained the impress of Hittite civilization.'¹⁸

On the site of the 'Croesus Temple' a series of foundations was exposed which showed that earlier temples had existed on the site. At Ephesus there was, Dr. Hogarth writes, 'a primeval local cult of the Mother-Goddess in which a principal share was borne by *Parthenoi*.' Prof. Garstang speaks of 'the worship of the Mother-Goddess paramount through the Hittite lands, from Carchemish to Ephesus . . . though general throughout western Asia, its introduction into Asia Minor is traceable to the Hittites. . . . It

¹⁶ Sartiaux, *Villes Mortes*, p. 64.

¹⁷ Prof. Sayce, pref. to Prof. Garstang's

The Land of the Hittites.

¹⁸ Prof. Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites.*

became deeply rooted, and in certain localities took special forms like those of Artemis at Ephesus.¹⁹

It would seem to follow, if most of this is true, that the earliest sanctuary at Ephesus of the Mother-Goddess, Lady of Wild Things, may have been a Hittite foundation. Or fashions and features may have been borrowed from Sardis, another great centre of a Cybele-Artemis cult; at least it appears how easily some of the strange architectural features in the Croesus temple may have been in a Hittite tradition.

For lions as bases to antae see Prof. Garstang's Plates 78 to 81: in his text he describes one pair of bases as bulls. The beasts in either case were treated exactly as at Ephesus: 'the body of the lion is carved in relief with the head and forepart in the round; upon his back is a squared surface for the reception of the upper stone.' Column bases were also treated as blocks, on each of which a pair of sphinxes were carved with their heads facing to the front. This I would suggest was similar to the antae bases at the Croesus temple.²⁰ The tradition of guardian bulls further explains those projecting heads which are sculptured over the doorway of the tomb at Trysa in Lycia. To this deep-seated tradition of the door-guardians I would refer also the curious figures at Ephesus which I have suggested were bases to the jambs of the great door.

There is some evidence which suggests that even the Ionic order may have been developed by the Hittites before it was adopted by the Greeks,²¹ although I think it probable that it was known in the Minoan age. Some sculptured figures at Boghaz-Keni (Garstang, Pls. 68-69) carry little shrines having well-formed 'Ionic' columns (Fig. 14). It is difficult to be sure of the dates assigned to these Hittite monuments, but if this sculpture is earlier than even the sixth century it has some significance in regard to the Ionic order. The turned down leaves of the bases at Ephesus also seem to be oriental in origin.



FIG. 14

A great erect eagle or hawk found at Yamoola (Garstang, Pl. 49) is curiously like many small offerings discovered at the Artemision, which are explained as Hawks of Artemis.²² The watching Gorgons of the parapet seem to be of oriental origin, and it is suggested in Daremberg and Saglio's Dictionary that Gorgons are in fact Hittite. The angel-like creatures which became popular in the Hellenistic age—such as those on some square capitals found at Didyma—must be watchers derived from Gorgons.²³ That these four winged genii, running sideways in a gliding, half-kneeling attitude, were Mesopotamian in origin may be seen from Perrot's illustration, vol. II, p. 365.

¹⁹ Maepere says of the Assyrian bulls that they were mystic guardians which warded off the attacks of evil men, spirits and maladies. The lions' heads on Greek gutters must originally have been apotropaic, and the early examples are much like Assyrian lions.

²⁰ See an article in *Klio*, xiii, 1913.

²¹ Similar erect birds have been found in Palestine and curiously at Zimbabwe.

²² The four winged creatures of Ezekiel seem to have been guardians of the four quarters.

The boots with turned-up toes, worn by some of the figures sculptured on the parapet, resemble a most constant Hittite characteristic, and the tall hat through which the hair of a female figure is drawn (Fig. 7) may derive from the 'pig-tails' and conical hats of the Hittite sculptures. The horned helmet of one of the warriors on the parapet also recalls Hittite sculptures.

The Primitive Structures and the Precinct.

Exactly at the middle of the naos of the Croesus temple was a great basis, and beneath it were discovered the foundations of earlier masses of masonry of the same type, the earliest of all being about 14×9 feet. It was better built than the foundation of another mass which stood some ten feet to the west, and the two were connected by narrower foundations (Fig. 15). It cannot be doubted that, as suggested in the B.M. publication,

it supported a small covered building or shrine. If this shrine contained the sacred cultus object, the other mass to the west can hardly have been anything else than the great altar, and the connecting masonry must represent the steps to the altar. The great altar must have been in the open air, and it follows that the shrine before which it stood was also in the open. This

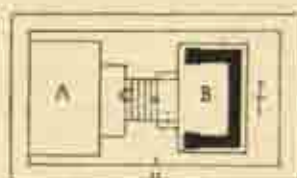


FIG. 15.

reading of the evidence is confirmed by the fact that the next work in order of development was to build a raised platform over the area occupied by both the shrine and the altar. This platform would not have been carried so far to the west if it had not supported the altar. This platform was subsequently enlarged (I and II, on Fig. 15).

Foundations of walls which surrounded the shrine and the altar were discovered, and it seems that these must have been the walls of structures which had no roofs. The walls which in the publication are taken for the foundation of inner rows of columns in the Croesus temple, occupy much the same relation to the enlarged platform as other walls do to the smaller platform. The temple was surrounded by a large enclosed park forming a sanctuary. Following the analogy of other sanctuary sites, it is probable that there were many minor buildings, porticoes, statues, and memorials.

NOTE.

In my former account of the Hellenistic temple it was shown that a series of the subjects sculptured on the columns referred to the birth festival of Artemis. On one pedestal Victories were leading animals to sacrifice, around a column fillets were being hung to festoons, on another was an assemblage of citizens, on another men in Persian dress were advancing in procession as if with gifts. Of the last it was remarked that it might have

been the source in art for the representations of the Magi bringing their gifts. A curious further point arises on this. One of the earliest paintings of the Coming of the Wise Men in the Catacombs (third century) shows two on either hand approaching the Virgin, who is seated with the Infant Christ in the middle (Péroté, *L'Archéol. Chrétienne*, Fig. 77); along the background are festoons with fillets hanging from each loop. This too represented a birthday festival. The centre of interest at Ephesus must in a similar way have been a drum sculptured with Leto nursing Apollo and Artemis, and I would see in the well-known 'Tellus' relief at Rome more or less of a copy of the design. This is building a scheme very much in the air, but the existence of the drum of the Muses at Ephesus, considered in relation with the scheme at the Apollo temple at Delphi where Leto with Apollo and Artemis and attendant Muses were sculptured, gives substantial support to the theory. So does the analogy before pointed out with the Parthenon sculptures where the birth scene was the central idea of the whole. The Artemision at Ephesus was the Nativity Temple of Artemis. (For a possible relief from the great altar and the statues of the Amazons see Noack in *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* xxx. p. 131.)

W. R. LETHBRY.

A FRAGMENT OF AN IVORY STATUE AT THE BRITISH
MUSEUM.

ABOUT three years ago I sent some slight notes on chryselephantine sculpture to the *Journal*, but withdrew them again for expansion. In the main they were intended to bring out the value, as evidence of the methods



used in working ivory for statues, of a small ivory mask in the British Museum. The article by Signor Carlo Albizzati on an ivory mask in the Vatican, published in the last part of the *Journal*, offers a new occasion for

calling attention to the London fragment. In the 'Guide to the Second Vase Room' by Newton and Murray (Part I. 1878) it was described thus: 'No. 15, Part of a Mask. The forehead, cheeks, chin, and nose cut off with smooth joints; the sockets of the eyes empty; the base of the nose is broad, and the lips full and prominent, as in the Egyptian type; inside the nostrils are the remains of vermillion. The mask has probably been completed with other carvings fitted on at the joints and with eyes in some other material. Height 3½ inches. Bequeathed by Sir Wm. Temple.' The wording of this suggests that the fragment was supposed to be a part of some ornamental composition, but it will not now be doubted, I believe, that it is a part of a head in the round which was made up of several pieces. Our fragment—the central part of the face—had next to it two side pieces to complete the cheeks and another for the chin.

A few further words of description may be given of points in which it resembled the Vatican work. The forehead was evidently covered by some other material, representing a helmet or hair, which fitted over it; the surface of the flesh was finely polished, the eyes were inlaid in cavities, the lips had 'sharply cut profiles,' the wings of the nose were defined rather harshly on the cheek; the joints were beautifully worked, 'the sawn surfaces have been treated with a file with sharp close teeth leaving visible striations.'

The British Museum fragment is smaller in scale, of poorer material and inferior in style to the Vatican example, but both were to some extent the outcome of the same tradition of production. The statuette to which the British Museum mask belonged was, I suggest, most probably an article of commerce made at Alexandria for the Roman market in an archaistic style. It is however an authentic example of the technique of chryselephantine statues.

W. R. LETHBRIDGE.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF STRABO XIII. 1.

THERE is no sort of textual corruption which cannot be abundantly illustrated from the MSS. of Strabo; but they stand almost alone in one characteristic—the multitude of lacunae. It is not a question here of mutilation on a large scale, such as the loss of most of the seventh book, nor of the omission of words or lines through such causes as homoioteleuton; these can be easily proved to exist, and probably there are many cases of them which we cannot now prove. But the peculiar lacunae of Strabo are due to a conscientious scribe, somewhere in the genealogy of the MSS.,¹ who had before him a copy in which from time to time he came across words or letters which for some reason he was unable to decipher; he has therefore left blanks corresponding in length to the missing letters. These lacunae have been recently discussed by Allen in *C.Q.* ix. 88. It is there shown that they do not arise from any physical mutilation of the MS.; their cause must be left uncertain.

Gaps such as these were evidently likely to be filled up in course of time, as Allen says, 'either by bringing the ends together or by inserting supplements.' And in the case of Strabo such supplements were constantly at hand. That incorporation of marginalia into the text is frequent all critics have seen; many have been recognised and duly relegated to the foot of Meineke's pages. The process can indeed often be traced in progress between the earlier and later MSS. as Kramer has shewn (p. lxxii.). It did not even end with the MSS. The Aldine text incorporates a passage which can still be seen standing as a marginal adscript in a parent of the extraordinarily corrupt MSS. (Par. grec 1395, Allen's P. 3) which a perverse fate induced Aldus to select for printing (Kramer, p. lxx.).

Adscripts may be a genuine portion of the text; they may consist of omitted words supplied in the margin: in some cases they may even be an addition by the author himself in his original MS. In such cases they betray themselves only when inserted in the wrong place. This is a possibility which has always to be borne in mind. It is an accident to which we are all liable even now. By an odd coincidence I find, while writing this page, an illustration in Allen's own paper (*C.Q.* ix. 93). The words 'P. 9's space . . . Bore-' in lines 14-5 have plainly been inserted in his text some

¹ Except the all-important Paris grec 1397, which contains only the first nine books, and so does not come under consideration here.

seven lines below their proper position. Internal evidence shews that they belong to the passage which he numbers (10), not to (13) where they now stand. I conclude that they are an author's adscript misplaced by the printer.

Such cases are of course rare. But Strabo's text shews abundant proof of the interpolation of marginalia of purely extraneous origin. The commonest case is the filling up of a quotation from Homer which Strabo had given only in an abbreviated form. But there are many instances where a reader's note—sometimes foolish, sometimes interesting—has been inserted into the text, and betrays itself by internal evidence. Several undetected cases of such interpolation I hope to make clear in what follows.

I

I begin with one instance which I choose not because I think it possible to reconstruct the passage, but because it seems to me to illustrate on a fairly large scale the various corruptions of which I have spoken—displacement of the original text, lacunae and incorporation of adscripts.

In § 36 Strabo alleges—avowedly in the footsteps of Demetrios of Skepsis—three arguments tending to shew that the Ilium of his day was not the Troy of Homer. These arguments are:—

(1) The general conditions of the war as described by Homer imply a considerable distance between the city and the camp: whereas the actual distance is very small.

(2) Small though the distance was in Strabo's time, it appears to have been still smaller in Homer's.

(3) Three passages, one in the *Odyssey* and two in the *Iliad*, say, or shew, that the Greek camp was a long way from the wall of Troy.

Argument (1) begins with the section, and continues to the words *διεστώτα τῆς πόλεως* (Meineke, p. 838, 23). It needs no comment except a note that the distances mentioned can hardly be squared with facts. Our text then continues:—

(A) ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πεδίον νῦν προστιθείς, διότι τοῦτο πᾶν πρόχωμα τῶν ποταμῶν ἐστὶ, τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πεδίον ὥστε εἰ δώδεκαστάδιον ἐστὶ νῦν τὸ μεταξὺ, τότε καὶ τῷ ἡμίσει ἔλαττον ὑπῆρχε.

Immediately on this follows a discussion of two of the passages from Homer; in the first of these (*Od.* xiv. 496) occur the words of Odysseus in ambush in front of the Greek camp, *λίην γὰρ νηῶν ἑκὰς ἤλθομεν*. In the second (*Il.* xviii. 236) Polydamas says of the Trojan army in the plain *ἑκὰς δ' ἀπὸ τείχεος εἶμεν*.

After these last words (Meineke 839, 5) the text goes on as follows:—

(B) παρατίθησι δ' ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρίνην Ἑστιάϊαν μάρτυρα τὴν ἀγγράψασαν περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδος, πειθανομένην εἰ περὶ τὴν νῦν πόλιν ὁ πόλεμος συνέστη καὶ τὸ Τρωικὸν πεδίον ὁ μεταξὺ τῆς πόλεως καὶ

τῆς θαλάττης ὁ ποιητὴς φράζει· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τῆς νῦν πόλεως ὁρώμενον πρόχωμα εἶναι τῶν ποταμῶν ὑστερον γεγονός.

Immediately upon these words (§ 37) follows the third of the Homeric passages proving the distance of the camp from the city—the passage about Polites in *Il.* ii. 791 ff.

Now it is evident at first sight that the two passages *A* and *B* belong closely to one another; both deal with the same subject, the supposed silting up since Homer's day of a bay of the sea which is assumed to have stretched in his time almost or quite up to Troy. It is equally evident that *B* has been wrongly detached from its context and inserted incoherently into the middle of the otherwise quite consistent discussion of the three episodes from Homer. There has therefore certainly been a displacement of the text, and *B* must be moved upwards into connexion with *A*.

But there is an incoherency in *B* itself. There is no construction for the words τὸ Τρωικὸν πεδῖον. They cannot be construed with *πυθανομένην*, and editors have accordingly indicated a lacuna after *καὶ*—rightly, I have no doubt.

Having decided that *B* must be brought into connexion with *A*, we have to consider *A* itself; and here the confusion is even worse. It has long been recognised that the words ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πεδῖον νῦν προστιθείς have no good sense or connexion with what precedes, and various emendations have been proposed. Groskurd inserted τὸ before πεδῖον, as there is otherwise no connexion for ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. Kramer proposes to read here τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πεδῖον, 'quae paulo post leguntur satis incommode. Videntur ea, cum in ipsa contextus serie verba τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ommissa essent post πόλεως, primum in margine adiecta, deinde in ordinem male recepta esse. Iam vero τὸ ante νῦν additum optime procedet. Praeterea haec verba carere iusto connexu cum proximis idem Grosk. verissime observavit, minus probabiliter simul suspiciens excidisse οὐκ εἰδώς vel οὐ διαρροῦμενος; lenior certe foret medicina, si οὐκ εὖ adderetur post προστιθείς.' Meineke reads [τὸ] ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ συμπροστιθείς, which does not seem to me to help matters. The fact is that none of these conjectures touches the root of the matter—the complete want of connexion with the preceding words εἰ δὲ φῆσαι τις τὸν νῦν λεγόμενον Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα εἶναι τὸ ναύσταθμον, ἐγγυτέρω τινὰ λέξει τόπον, ὅσον δώδεκα σταδίων διεστώτα τῆς πόλεως. Evidently the argument from silting implies that even from this small distance something is to be taken off, not that anything is to be added. So προστιθείς, at least without full explanation, is not a word to be properly used in this connexion at all. The least that is required to make sense, if this sentence is to join what precedes, is 'even if he includes the whole width of the plain as it is to-day.' That can by no means be got out of the words ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πεδῖον νῦν προστιθείς, nor can we even mend them by such an addition as οὐκ εὖ. Meineke's emendation of νῦν to συμ- abolishes one word which is essential, in order to get in the other essential idea of inclusion.

In order to reduce this complicated tangle of confusion into order, I

suggest that at some point of the genealogy of the MSS., after the lacunae had made their appearance, the text stood as follows (beginning with Meineke's line 23, p. 838).

δωδεκα σταδίων διαστάτα τῆς πόλεως [lacuna] . . .
 διότι τοῦτο πῦν πρόχωμα τῶν ποταμῶν ἐστὶ τὸ
 πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πεδίον· ὥστε εἰ
 δωδεκαστάδιον ἐστὶ νῦν τὸ μεταξύ, τότε καὶ τῶι
 ἡμίσει ἑλαττον ὑπῆρχε. † παρατίθησι δ' ὁ Δημή-
 τριος καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρίην Ἑστιάαν μάρτυρα,
 τὴν συγγράψασαν περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδος,
 πυνθανομένην εἰ περὶ τὴν νῦν πόλιν ὁ πόλεμος
 συνέστη, καὶ [lacuna] . . . ‡ καὶ ἡ διήγησις δ' ἡ
 πρὸς τὸν Εὐμαιον κ.τ.λ.

ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πεδίον· νῦν
 προστίθει.

τὸ Τρωικὸν πεδίον, ὃ μεταξὺ
 τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς θαλάττης
 ὁ ποιητὴς φράζει· τὸ μὲν
 γὰρ πρὸ τῆς νῦν πόλεως
 ὁράμενον πεδίον πρόχωμα
 εἶναι τῶν ποταμῶν ἑστέρον
 γεγονός.

I assume therefore that, at the side of the two lacunae which editors have already detected, there stood two adscripts ready to be swallowed up. The first of these consists of a lemma, *ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πεδίον*, taken from the text, followed by the instruction 'add νῦν,' a word which is in fact important for the sense; the plain spoken of is the plain in its modern extension, not as it was in Homer's days.

The second adscript contains nothing which is not already in the text; it is a mere marginal summary of the argument. This had no doubt struck a reader as a remarkable one, to which he might wish to refer again.

At a later period, after the second lacuna had duly devoured its own offspring, the whole passage from † to ‡ was accidentally omitted by the scribe; but he detected the omission at once, and added it later on, after the words *ἐκὰς δ' ἀπὸ τείχεος εἰμεν*, which, if we may judge from the usual habits of scribes, probably stood in the last line of a page.

In the first lacuna there stood probably only words to say 'small though these distances are, they must have been yet smaller in Homer's day.' The contents of the second lacuna are irrecoverable; though it is clear that Hestiana approved, and probably originated, the theory of the advance of the coast line by deposits from the rivers.

All this is of course only conjecture; but at least it accounts for all the trouble, and I am working with demonstrable factors. If another and simpler explanation can be found, so much the better; but I do not think that any critic of the passage has yet been satisfied with any suggestion that has been made.

II.

§ 4. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Προποντίδα τόπων ὁ μὲν Ὀμηρος ἀπὸ Αἰσῆπου τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιεῖται τῆς Τρωιάδος, Εὐδοξον δὲ ἀπὸ Πριάπου † καὶ Ἀρτάκης τοῦ ἐν τῇ Κυζικηνῶν νήσῳ χωρίῳ ἀνταίρουτος τῷ Πριάπῳ ‡ συστέλλων ἐπ' ἑλαττον τοὺς ὄρους, Δαρμίστης δ' ἐτι μᾶλλον συστέλλει ἀπὸ Παρίου.

The words between † † seem not to have been suspected; yet it is evident that they are mere nonsense. Eudoxus cannot have fixed the eastern boundary of the Troad simultaneously at two points some 35 miles apart in a straight line, and very much more if we measure by land; nor could he be said to contract the limits of the Troad if in fact he took in Artake, which lies a long way beyond the Aisepos, the extreme eastern boundary from which Strabo starts.

What ground anyone can have had for putting such foolish words into the margin, or why the name of Artake should have been mentioned at all, I confess I do not understand. If the words are cut out, there is no sign of a lacuna—the text runs quite smoothly. The only suggestion I can make is that Strabo may have added after Πριάπον some words such as καὶ τοῦ ὄρου τῶν Κυζικηνῶν. In his day, as we know, the boundary of the Kyzikene territory included a large portion of the Granikos plain (see § 11). These words might have been glossed, in later days when the territory of Kyzikos was limited to its own island, by some such words as Ἀρτάκης . . . τῷ Πριάπῳ, for at that time Artake would be regarded as the nearest Kyzikene town to Priapos; and the gloss might have superseded the text. But on this I lay no stress of any sort.

III.

§ 48. πολλαχού δ' ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ Σμινθέως ὄνομα· καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀραξιτὸν χωρὶς τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν Σμινθίου δύο τόποι καλοῦνται Σμίνθια· καὶ ἄλλοι δ' ἐν τῇ πλησίον Λαρισαίᾳ· καὶ ἐν τῇ Παριανῇ δ' ἔστι χωρίον τὰ Σμίνθια καλούμενον, καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ καὶ ἐν Αἰνῶνι καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλαχού· †καλοῦσι δὲ νῦν τὸ ἱερὸν Σμίνθιον. χωρὶς γούνη† καὶ τὸ Ἀλῆσιον πεδίου οὐ μέγα ἐντὸς τοῦ Λεκτοῦ καὶ τὸ Τραγασαῖον ἀλοπῆμον κ.τ.λ.

The words καλοῦσι . . . Σμίνθια are worse than otiose as referring to the Sminthion which has just been described under that name as a matter of course, and χωρὶς γούνη defies explanation. The use of γούνη is clear enough; it gives an instance or *prima facie* explanation of what precedes. But it is no explanation of the words 'the place is still called Sminthion' to add, 'that is why the Halesian Plain is separate,' whatever 'separate' may mean. *Prima facie* the Sminthion and the Halesian Plain are not separate but closely connected; the Sminthion is close to the edge of the hills where they join the plain, and the two are separate only in the sense that 'temple' and 'plain' are not convertible terms. This difficulty remains even if we follow some editors who boldly read δέ for γούνη.

It seems clear that we have another case of a marginal note. The name of the Sminthion lasted for centuries after Strabo's date, as we know from the fact that it is marked as such in the Tabula Peutingeriana, none of which seems to be older than the third century A.D. and which may be as late as Justinian. Some Byzantine scholar noted on his Strabo 'The temple is called Sminthion to this day.' There was plainly a lacuna before καὶ τὸ Ἀλῆσιον πεδίου. This invited a later copyist to insert the note which stood

a little higher up. The words *χωρίς γούν* I take to be a mere misreading of the lemma of the note, viz. *χωρίς τοῦ*, referring to the phrase a few lines back, *χωρίς τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν Σμινθίου*, to which the note properly belonged.

IV.

§ 61. *ἐνταῦθα γὰρ καὶ ἡ Θήβη καὶ ἡ Λυρνησσός, ἐρμυὺν χωρίον ἔρημοι δ' ἀμφότεραι· διέχονσι δὲ Ἀδραμυττίου σταδίους ἡ μὲν ἐξήκοντα ἡ δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα †καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ θάτερα.†*

In this case we can trace the process of interpolation; the last meaningless words have crept into our text only at a late date; they are not known to Eustathios, who quotes the passage, nor to the Epitome, our oldest though imperfect authority, and they are omitted, even by several of the late MSS. (om. *Emox.* Epit. Kramer). Tyrwhitt has indeed brought sense into them by reading *ἡ* for *ἡ*, and they accordingly appear in our texts in the form *καὶ ὀκτώ ἐπὶ θάτερα*. The apparent simplicity of the correction seems to have blinded critics to the fact that it involves a complete departure from Strabo's well-marked practice.

For minute local topography, where accuracy is both possible and necessary, Strabo uses the stade as a unit; but after going through three books, XII.-XIV., in which some 200 distances are recorded—a fair basis for discussion—I find that he never uses it for distances of over thirty-five stades. This number occurs in XIV. ii. 19; twenty-eight occurs in XIII. ii. 4. Nowhere else in these books, with two exceptions, does he use any smaller unit for distances of over twenty stades, than ten stades. In other words, as we should expect, he reckons distances up to two miles, and exceptionally rather less than four, by furlongs; longer distances he reckons by miles. It is therefore wrong to foist upon him, in the face of the best authorities, such a measure as eighty-eight stades; he would certainly have said ninety. He is too good a geographer to make a pretence of minute accuracy where it is obvious that he could not have the materials for it.

The two exceptions mentioned occur in XIV. iii. 8 *ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἄκρας ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀλβίαν λείπονται στάδιοι τριακόσιοι ἐξήκοντα ἑπτὰ*, and v. 3 *καὶ φησιν (ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος) ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Πηλουσιακοῦ στόματος εἶναι τρισχιλίους ἑννακοσίους σταδίους εἰς Ὀρθωσίαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ὀρόντην ποταμὸν χίλια ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας ἐξῆς πεντακόσια εἰκοσίπεντε κ.τ.λ.* In the latter case the odd 25 suggest a fraction of a still larger unit, 100 stades. In the former I can only say that the odd 7 seem to me extremely suspicious and unlike Strabo.

The words *καὶ ὀκτώ ἐπὶ θάτερα* in the passage before us must therefore be expelled on every ground. They have caused much needless discussion in the hope of finding a reasonable sense for the words *ἐπὶ θάτερα*. I pointed out in *Troy*, p. 219, that these could not have the obvious meaning 'in the opposite direction'; I had not then observed that the words do not belong to the text at all, and must be left wholly out of account in attempting to

locate Strabo's Lynnessos. One difficulty in the way of my hypothesis that this site lay somewhere in the neighbourhood of Zeitunli is now therefore removed.

What the words *καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ θάτερα* can stand for, and how they can have got into the text, I must leave to others to say; I have no suggestion to make.

V.

Here is another puzzle where I am again inclined to suspect an adscript:—

§ 67. Ἀταρνεὺς δ' ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἑρμεῖον τυραννεῖον, εἴτα Πιτάνη πόλις Λιολικὴ, δύο ἔχουσα λιμένας, καὶ ὁ παραρρέων αὐτὴν ποταμὸς Εὐήνος, ἐξ οὗ τὸ ὑδραγωγεῖον πεποιήται τοῖς Ἀδραμυττηνοῖς.

This immediately follows the description of Andeira, only sixty stades from Thebe in the plain of that name. It involves a long jump of some thirty miles to Atarneus on the south, and a still greater distance, another ten, to Pitane.

The site of Pitane may be taken as fixed at Sandarli or Chandarli, a little double port about three miles west of the Kaikos mouth. A torrent-bed, the Sari Asmak, runs into the sea near it; if the text is right this must be the Euenos; we know of no ancient name for it, and cannot say that it was not called Euenos. But we can say with the utmost confidence that no aqueduct from it was ever taken to Adramyttion. Its head-waters are at the nearest point over twenty-five miles from Adramyttion; several much larger streams have their basins directly between; an aqueduct would have to be taken across their beds through a tangle of high hills and valleys; and as the whole region is practically waterless in summer, there would be no water to bring. Why should Adramyttion seek its water here? It has at its doors a much more considerable stream, now called the Freneli Chai the chief river of the Plain of Thebe, supplied at least in part from the Ida range with its reservoirs of perennial springs. The Freneli Chai is at its nearest only about three miles from Adramyttion, and an aqueduct can be carried across a level plain. And there is good reason to believe that the Freneli Chai was in fact called the Euenos in antiquity. It is true that we have no better authority than Pliny (*H.N.* v. 122), but in the silence of Strabo, Pliny must count for something. It is therefore in all probability true that the water supply of Adramyttion was derived from the Euenos; but it is hopelessly wrong to say that this Euenos flows past Pitane.

The passage immediately preceding that quoted above gives a description of Andeira; and I have shewn (*B.S.A.* xxi.) that Andeira lay directly over the Freneli Chai, at the point where it issues from the hill-country into the plain. It seems natural to conclude therefore that the words *ὁ παραρρέων αὐτὴν ποταμὸς* are meant to refer to Andeira. If they stood about three lines higher up, there would be no sort of difficulty, except that they do not fit into the text. They seem to bear all the marks of the marginal of a

well-instructed reader who was surprised that Strabo should have omitted all reference to the Euenos; 'also the river which flows past it' and so on. They are not intended to be incorporated in the text, but as a matter of fact have got into it at the wrong point.

One might be inclined to think that they were an addition of Strabo's own not properly incorporated. But I doubt this. Aqueducts in Asia Minor as a rule are post-Strabonian. The far more important city of Alexandria Troas had to wait till the days of Herodes Atticus before it got one. If there was one at Adramyttion in Strabo's day it was probably a rather rudimentary affair; there are no remains of an aqueduct in the plain, so far as is known.

There is another reason why I do not think the note is Strabonian; that is the pronoun *αὐτῇν*. It does not agree grammatically with the neuter *Ἀρδεῖρα* to which I suppose it to refer. The writer may have regarded the name as a feminine—perhaps it may have been so used in his day²—or he may simply have had the word *πόλιν* in his mind. That is the sort of slip which is easy for one who is writing a general note without reference to the exact context: but it is not like Strabo.

VI.

§ 20. οὕτω δ' ἀφανῆ τὰ χωρία ταῦτά ἐστιν ὥστε οὐδ' ὁμολογοῦσι περὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ἱστοροῦντες, πλὴν ὅτι περὶ Ἀρδεῖρα καὶ Λάμφακόν ἐστι καὶ Πάριον, καὶ ὅτι ἡ Πάλαι Περκώτη μετωνομάσθη ὁ τόπος.³

The last sentence is clearly imperfect; there are two subjects to only one verb. Something has dropped out; it can I think be supplied with confidence.

τὰ χωρία ταῦτα appears to refer both to Arisbe and Perkote, though Strabo does not say so explicitly. I have dealt with these two sites in *Troy* 188 ff. In spite of Strabo's emphatic denial, he ought to have known a good deal about both of them, and their sites can be closely fixed. With Arisbe we are not here concerned. Perkote lay near the shore at the mouth of the valley of the Praktios. Some distance inland on a hill called the Er-dagh, Judeich discovered the remains of an ancient town—not prehistoric—which will serve very well for the other town of the pair Perkote-Palai-perkote which existed side by side in the fifth century B.C.; both appear as contributors in the Attic tribute lists.

Judeich however was wrong in assuming that the Er-dagh site was the Old Perkote, and that the later town was on the sea; and I was wrong in following him. Old Perkote was of course Homer's Perkote, and this lay on the sea, for here Iphidamas left his ships when he came to Troy (*Il.* xi. 229). The move was made in the opposite direction. Probably the inhabitants were mainly of the old population, Teukroi or Gergithes, and removed to the hills when the Greek immigration took possession of the shores.

² Cf. Steph. B. *ἔτι καὶ Ἀρδεῖρα θηλυκῆς, φησὶ γὰρ*.

After the Attic tribute lists we hear no more of Old Perkote; the next mention is in Xenophon, where a place called Perkope appears (see *Troy*, p. 191); it was clearly on the same spot. The inhabitants of Palai-perkote perhaps did not like a name which seemed to stamp them as old-fashioned, and altered one letter so as to distinguish themselves from Perkote on the hills, while keeping up a reminiscence of the name. We may perhaps compare the official distinction between Tonbridge in the plain and Tunbridge Wells, the successful offspring not far off. The name Perkope grew to be so familiar that it occurs continually as a variant in MSS., even in Homer, *Il.* II. 835, xi. 229, xv. 548, though the adjective Περκώσιος shows that the π is inadmissible. It would appear therefore that from the fourth century onwards the two towns were called Perkote (on the Er-dagh) and Perkope (on the coast); Eustathios is quite right when he says (840, 46) ἡ δὲ Περκώπη αὕτη ἑτέρα ἐστὶ παρὰ τὴν διὰ τοῦ τ, ὡς ἀλλαχοῦ κεῖται, γραφομένην Περκώτην, though he is evidently wrong in thinking that Περκώπη should be read in *Il.* xi. 228. His own copy did in fact here read Περκώπη; for this is in this place the reading of the MS. which I call J. (B.M. Harley 1771) and which I have shewn to be in all peculiar readings a copy of that used by Eustathios (*Journ. Phil.* xx. 243). The variant is not recorded here from any other MS.

We have now sufficient material for completing the mutilated phrase in Strabo. Read ἡ παλαι Περκώτη <μετωικίσθη καὶ Περκώπη> μετωνομάσθη ὁ τόπος. 'The original Perkote was transplanted, and the name of the site was changed to Perkope.' The omission of the words was evidently bound to come at some point in the course of transcription.

VII.

§ 25. τὸ γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον θαρρεῖν πλησιάζειν τῇ θαλάττῃ πλείους ἂν ὑπογράφοι διαφορὰς πολιτειῶν καὶ ἡθῶν, †καὶ ἄπερ†¹ τῶν †ἀγαθῶν†² τε καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων †ἐτι πῶς†³ ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμέρον τῶν δευτέρων ὑποβεβηκότων, ἐστὶ †δέ†⁴ τις διαφορὰ καὶ παρὰ ταῦτοις κ.τ.λ.

¹ καθάπερ conj. Xyl., καὶ καθάπερ Cor.

² ἀπὸ τῶν, ἐπὶ τῶν MSS. del. 58a τῶν

³ ἑλλῶν conj. Grotkord, recepit. Kramer. conj. Grotk., 'quod satis arripet' Kramer.

⁴ ἢ οὐ, Cor.

The passage comes in the middle of a long disquisition on Plato's theory of the advance of civilisation as set out in the *Lysis*, Book III. Plato there tells how, 'after the floods,' civilisation gradually descended from the hill-tops to the slopes, and ultimately, as the waters disappeared, to the sea-shore. Each descent was marked by a rise in the scale of culture, and is illustrated by an example from Homer. The hill-top stage, savage and simple, is that of the Kyklopes. The middle stage is that of the old Dardania, founded on the slopes (μυσάρειαι) of Ida; the last, that of Ilion founded 'in the plain,' ἐν πεδίοις πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπαιον ἀνθρώπων.

This was clearly urged as an argument in favour of the claim of Ilion to be Homer's Troy; Ilion was in fact 'in the plain' as near the sea as

circumstances permitted, and Plato rightly gave it as a typical instance of the last stage of his theory.

This claim was however disputed by Demetrios of Skepsis; it is his counter-argument which Strabo here gives us, though in all probability with much condensation and omissions which leave important points to inference. The general drift however is clear.

Demetrios, while not disputing Plato's view in the main, urges that it is not so simple as it looks. The downward tendency of civilisation must have been more gradual than Plato thinks; each stage must have had several sub-stages. The final inference, which Strabo does not explicitly state, is that in the last stage, when civilisation was approaching the sea, we may expect to find more than one town. The town nearest the sea—in this case Ilium—must have been preceded by another a little further off, built before mankind had yet dared actually to settle on the still drying shore; and this penultimate town, Homer's Troy, Demetrios believes himself to have found at the 'Ilians' village' some three miles nearer to the hill-country than Ilium itself.

In the sentence before us Demetrios is tracing the various sub-stages from the first. The first stage is that of the dwellers on the hill-tops, who have the primitive culture, which is 'good and wild'—*ἡθὴ ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἄγρια*. Here Groskurd has conjectured *ἀπλῶν* for *ἀγαθῶν*. The change seems at first sight convincing. Kramer says of *ἀγαθῶν* 'hoc verbum cum plane alienum sit ab hoc loco, Groskurdii coniecturam recipere non dubitavi, mutationis facilitate non minus commendabilem, quam sensus opportunitate,' and Meineke follows suit. And as we have in the statement of Plato's theory a few lines before *πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκρορείας ἀπλοὺν καὶ ἄγριον*, the change does at first sight seem almost self-evident. But neither Groskurd nor Kramer has noticed that *ἀγαθῶν* also has the direct authority of Plato himself, who says that the simple stage was a 'good' stage—*ἀγαθοὶ μὲν διὰ ταῦτά τε ἦσαν καὶ διὰ τὴν λεγομένην εὐήθειαν* (*Latus*, III. p. 579).

In my opinion therefore *ἀγαθῶν* is not only defensible, but necessary. Demetrios wants to indicate that there are two distinct elements in the hill-top stage itself, giving rise to yet further distinctions in subsequent stages. *ἀπλῶν καὶ ἄγριον* would naturally be taken as a single phrase involving no antithesis; it is a piece of quite adroit dialectic to substitute *ἀγαθῶν* with the authority of Plato, and thus emphasise the polarity between 'good' and 'savage' which is not apparent in 'simple' and 'wild'. He then goes on to say that these two aspects of the first stage result in a still more marked contrast in the second; the 'good' element of the first gives rise to the 'civil' of the second, just as the 'wild' gives rise to the 'rustic'. Demetrios is of course arguing, in true Greek fashion, from the connotations of the Greek words, which are naturally not the same as with us, so that his argument cannot have its full force in English. He has reached so marked a contrast between *πολιτικός* and *ἄγροικος* that he can afford to interpolate a third sub-stage, the *μεσῆγροικος*, a word which he has apparently invented for the purpose; it is not found elsewhere.

We can now approach the plainly corrupt *ἐτι πως*—an old corruption, as appears from the various shapes it has taken in late MSS. The right word is, I feel little doubt, *ἐτέρως*. This involves less alteration than any other conjecture known to me, and seems to give exactly the sense required by the passage—the 'good' and the 'wild' pass, *by one or other road*, i.e. 'alternatively' into the 'civil' and 'rustic'. It may be noticed that this is a Platonic use of the adverb; *τὸ μὲν τι ἀμφοτέρως, τὸ δ' ἐτέρως*, *Theaet.* 181 c.

We have further to consider the construction of the whole sentence. We can either abolish the *καὶ* of *καὶ ἄπερ* by reading *καθάπερ*, and put a full stop after *ὑποβεβηκότων*, or we can keep a comma here and reject the *δέ* after *ἔστι*. The difference in the sense is slight; in the former case *τῶν ἀγαθῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων* is gen. after the preceding *διαφορὰς*, in the latter after the following *διαφορὰ*. But I prefer the second construction, and translate accordingly:—Different degrees of boldness in settling near the sea will suggest several different forms of civilisation and manners; just as in the case of the 'good' and 'wild' manners, which passed over in alternative forms to the mildness of the second stage, so in the second stage itself we find a corresponding difference between the 'rustic,' the 'semi-rustic' and the 'civil.'

The only objection to *καὶ ἄπερ* is, I think, that *ἄπερ* is a word used only by the poets and Xenophon. On this ground we should perhaps accept the conj. *καὶ καθάπερ*, though I am not sure that *καὶ ὥσπερ* is not palaeographically as easy an alteration.

VIII.

§ 27. *ἔπειτα ὅτι Ἰούλιος ἀπὸ Ἰούλου τινοῦ τῶν προγόνων· ἐκεῖνος δ' ἀπὸ Ἰούλου τὴν προσωνυμίαν ἔσχε ταύτην, τῶν ἀπογόνων εἰς ὃν τῶν ἀπὸ Αἰνείου.*

It appears then that Julius Caesar took special interest in Ilium because the name of Julius came from Iulos, and the name of Iulos came from Iulos. The patent absurdity of this is in no way diminished by saying that one Iulos was an ancestor of Julius, and a descendant of the family of Aeneias, while the other was—Iulos! If two of the same name are to be distinguished, it must be by more characteristic marks than this. Nor can it be said that the solution of the problem is advanced by such a naïve device as that of Groskurd, who translates 'weil er Julius hiess, von Julius, einem seiner Altvordern; dieser aber, welcher einer der Nachkommen des Aeneias war, hatte diesen Namen von Iulos.' Strabo apparently foresaw that somewhere in the course of the seventeenth century A.D. printers would distinguish between I and J, and that later on, though some transliterated the Greek termination -ος by -us, others would prefer -os. Till that time, according to Groskurd, Strabo's meaning could not be understood.

It seems to me perfectly obvious that the second name should be not *Ἰούλου* but *Ἰλου*. This I conjectured with complete confidence at a first

reading of the passage in Meineke, before I had ascertained from Kramer that *Ἰλίου* is in fact given by two (inferior) MSS. and was adopted by Corais. Since then I have puzzled my brains in vain to discover how anyone could fail to adopt so certain a correction when it had once been pointed out. Yet *Ἰούλου* stands in every text known to me.

The name of Iulus is of course the essential link in the derivation of the Julian family from Aeneas. It was easy enough to invent an eponymous Iulus; this meant nothing without the further assertion that the name Iulus was identical with Ilos. When that step had been taken, the thing was done: Ilos was the eponymos of Ilion, and his name was traditional in the family of Aeneas. When Strabo says that Iulus was called from Ilos, he has given us a famous name, which needs no further explanation.

We have, of course, an explicit and semi-official statement of the derivation of Iulus from Ilos in Virgil, *Aen.* i. 267:

puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo
additur—Ilos erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno.

Why anyone should have doubted the genuineness of these lines, the very kernel of the Julian genealogy, is another of those critical puzzles which I am wholly unable to solve. So far as the Julian gens was concerned, Virgil might almost as well have never written the *Aeneid* as omit these vital words. They constitute the one piece of evidence—such as it is, of course—for the connexion of the Julii with Troy and the goddess Venus.

It may be noted that Strabo never mentions Virgil and wholly ignores the *Aeneid*, though it was published some thirty years before the *Geography*. Indeed he hardly conceals his contempt for the Roman Aeneas legend, which naturally little suited his archaeological conscience, though it could not be too openly flouted under Augustus. Probably the triple identification Ascanius-Iulus-Ilos, was a contribution of Virgil's own; the ordinary story merely said what Strabo says, that the name Julius was derived through the imaginary Iulus from the Trojan Ilos.

WALTER LEAF.

STUDIES IN THE TEXT OF THE *NICOMACHEAN ETHICS*.

II.

It is generally admitted that Bekker's K^b—Laur. 81, 11—is the best, as it is the oldest, authority for the text both of the *Nicomachean Ethics* and of the *Great Morals*. It is desirable therefore that the testimony of that manuscript should be presented to the learned public as accurately as possible. So far as concerns the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the reports of that testimony which are now available are chiefly the following: (a) Bekker's, as given in his academical edition of 1831, (b) Schöll's, as given first in Rasso's *Forschungen über die Nikomachische Ethik*, Weimar, 1874, at p. 10, *eqq.*, and subsequently in Susemihl's editions, of which the third and last was edited by Otto Apelt and published in the Teubner series in 1912, and (c) Bywater's, as given in his Oxford text. Bywater's *apparatus criticus* is unfortunately what is called a select *apparatus criticus*. 'In adferendo codicum testimonio,' he says in his preface, 'praescriptam legem hujus editionis sic observavi ut potissima tantum scripturae varietas in adnotatione commemoraretur, omissis scilicet eis quae temere et casu seniores librarii intulerunt. Itaque ne ipsius quidem K^b integram varietatem adposui.' So far as regards the *Great Morals*, there are for K^b the collations of Bekker, as given in the edition of 1831, and of Schöll, as given in Rasso, *op. cit.*, and in Susemihl's edition of 1883. I have made a new collation of K^b using for the *Ethics* Susemihl's third edition revised by Apelt, and for the *Great Morals* Susemihl's edition of 1883, and I here give the principal results of that collation, so far as they differ from the results of those two editions. As a rule I only refer to those places where the testimony of Susemihl-Apelt or of Susemihl, as the case may be, is either inadequate or erroneous. Both Susemihl and Apelt had the advantage of Schöll's collation and they have thereby been enabled to correct Bekker's testimony in a good many places. Unfortunately any collation in passing from one *apparatus criticus* to another is apt to go wrong. A note that refers to one line or to one manuscript gets attributed to another line and another manuscript. Moreover Susemihl grouped together the readings of several manuscripts under one letter, while Apelt judiciously resolved the signs which expressed groups

into their constituent elements. In this performance again mistakes inevitably crept in. It will be found that in at least three-fourths of the cases where I have corrected either the text or the *apparatus criticus* of the editions which I have mentioned, I have reverted to Bekker's testimony. His collation of K^b is indeed remarkably correct.

Two preliminary points require clearing up: first, as to the extent to which I note other hands than that of the original scribe; secondly, as to the extent to which I note the *minutiae* of accentuation, breathings, wrong division of words, misspellings, etc. The number and date of the various hands in K^b have been the subject of some difference of opinion. Susemihl in his first edition of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1882) and in his edition of the *Great Morals* classifies the hands as follows:—

- corr.¹ K^b = correctiones ipsius librari.
corr.^{2,3} K^b = duo ejusdem saeculi correctores.
rc. K^b = corrector tertius.

Apelt, in Susemihl's third edition, gives a different account of the hands. He writes as follows:—

'pr. K^b significat primam manum, corr.¹ correctiones prima manu (s.e. ab ipso librario) confectas.

rc. K^b significat recentiorum correctorum manna. Inveniuntur enim praeter ipsius librarii correctiones tria genera correctionum profectarum a tribus correctoribus, qui sunt cuncti, ut videtur, saeculi decimi tertii (falsa de hac re rettulit Susemihl). Schoellius ipse diversas manus sic distinguit:

- m. 1. librarius.
- m. 2. corrector prior (saec. xiii. ut vid.).
- m. 3. eadem videtur esse atque rubricatoria, et ipsa, nisi fallor, saec. xiii. et fort. manu 2 anterior.
- m. altera = corrector secundus (saec. xiii.-xiv., similis atramenti atque m. 1).
- m. rec. nigriore atramento usa tamen nescio an eadem sit atque m. altera quam dico.'

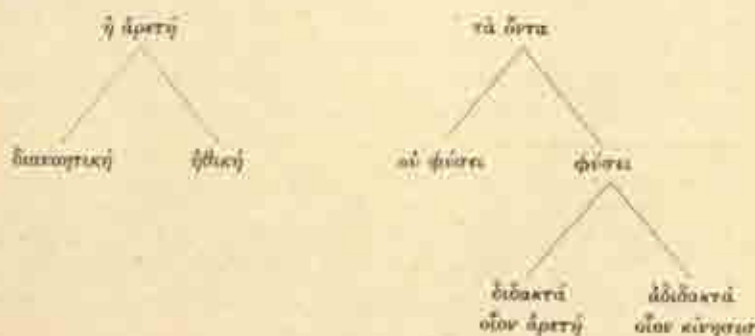
I regret that I cannot agree altogether with either of these learned men. First, very few corrections can be assigned with certainty to the original scribe. As a rule, he does not seem to have looked back on what he had written. The utmost he ever did was to correct slips which struck his attention the moment after he had made them. He is guilty of many omissions of words and phrases, but he never supplies them. There are a few minor corrections which, from the similarity in the letters and the identity in the colour of the ink, one may be justified in ascribing to him, although it must be admitted that a later hand, as Schöll notices, uses an ink which has turned to the same colour as that of the original scribe. Here however are some corrections which probably belong to the original scribe. *1110b 12 oi δε* δὲ is over the line but by the scribe. *1111a 2* He originally wrote ἀκούσω

but has put a small σ over ω . 1122a 29 He wrote $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\theta\epsilon\rho\sigma$ but erased the accent, put another over the third ϵ and inserted a small ϵ between ρ and σ . 1122b 23 He wrote $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ but changed it to $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$. 1129b 3 'ἀ σιν, pr. K^b says Susemihl. ἀ is in the line but in a smaller hand. It was no doubt added afterwards, but probably by the scribe. 1153a 30 αἰ is over the line but by the scribe. 1163a 3 He wrote $\delta\iota\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ —i.e. he was going to write $\delta\iota\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\tau\alpha$ —and then corrected $\acute{\alpha}$ into δ . 1165b 33 He wrote $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\sigma$ —his eye being attracted by $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\sigma$ a few words before—and then inserted a small ϵ between σ and σ . 1173a 8 He wrote $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu$ and changed it to $\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\lambda\omega\nu$.

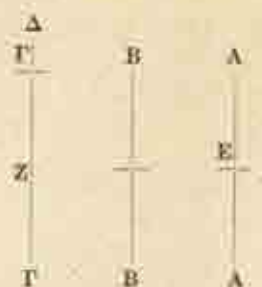
There are also a few cases where a word, or part of a word, is written in a wrong place, and is then dotted over by the scribe. 1161a 28 He wrote $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$. He then got rid of $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\omicron}$ by putting dots over it, and added λ before $\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ which comes in the next line. At the same time he put an accent over $\omicron\nu$. 1181b 3 He wrote $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu\ \phi\acute{\alpha}\iota\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. It is obvious that $\phi\acute{\alpha}\iota\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ comes from $\phi\acute{\alpha}\iota\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ which occurs a few words before. The scribe apparently became aware of this, for he dotted over $\phi\acute{\alpha}\iota\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. 1183a 21 He wrote $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ and then, seeing that $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ had occurred a few words before, covered it with dots.

It is hard to be sure about dots, but these are probably by the scribe. There are two systems of dotting. One is where the word which it is desired to erase is dotted over above the line, the other is where it is surrounded by dots. The former system seems to have been that of the original scribe.

Of marginalia there is one important class which appear to be by the original scribe—I refer to the drawings or diagrams in illustration of the text which are to be found in several places. It would be impossible to do justice to these diagrams except by photographs, but the following observations may serve to give an idea of them. On f. 15a (the beginning of Book II.) there are four figures in the margin, and on f. 15b is another. They merely serve to classify the matter contained in the text. Two may be given as a specimen:—



On f. 57b (1132b 2-27) three lines are drawn on the outer top margin thus:—



In some of the old editions these lines—only placed horizontally—are given as part of the text after *1132b* 9.

On *f. 58a* (*1132b* 27–*1133a* 16) there is the following drawing on the lower margin:—



This corresponds, though not precisely, with the drawing in the *Paraphrase* of Heliodorus, p. 96, Heylbut. It corresponds more nearly with those in the translation by Feliciano of the *Commentary* of Michael Ephesius, p. 229, 230, ed. Ven. 1541. The same is reproduced in some of the old commentaries, e.g. that of Victorinus, p. 281, ed. Flor. 1584.

On *f. 58b* (*1133a* 16–*b* 6) there is the following drawing in the bottom margin:—



This again corresponds closely with the drawing in Heliodorus, p. 97, which again agrees with that in the translation of Feliciano, p. 232, and that in the *Commentary* of Victorinus, p. 284.

On f. 59a (1133b 6-31) the following drawing is at the side:—

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha} & \overset{\alpha\iota}{\mu\upsilon} \overset{\beta}{\iota} \overset{\gamma}{\rho}\omicron\mu\alpha\upsilon & \kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\eta \\ \tilde{\alpha} & \tilde{\beta} & \Gamma \end{array}$$

This corresponds with the drawings in Heliodorus, p. 98, and Feliciano, p. 234.

It may be questioned whether these drawings, or some of them, do not belong to the original edition of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. They seem to me due to the original scribe.

When we pass from him to later correctors, it is to be noticed that no one has gone over the manuscript regularly, from start to finish, with the idea of a systematic correction. There are many pages—more in the *Nicomachean Ethics* than in the *Great Morals*—which are absolutely free from corrections or marginalia of any sort. Such correction as there is is desultory and haphazard. Although the original scribe makes many omissions, it is only a small proportion of these which are supplied.

The most active of all the annotators or correctors is the one who is described by Schöfl as the Rubricator, and whom he assigns to the thirteenth century. The Rubricator adds from time to time headings in the margin. He also adds hands pointing to something in the text, expressions of admiration, such as *καλῶς, ὠραῖον*. One of his longest notes is at f. 167b: *ἐνθεν εἰδέναι ἐστὶ πῶς νοεῖται ἐν τοῖς νικομαχίοις διὸ καλῶς ἀπεφάναντο τὸ γὰρ οὐ πάντα ἐφίεται. πάντα γὰρ τὰ ζῶα νοητέον*. The Rubricator supplies some of the omissions of the original scribe, e.g. 1098a 13 *καὶ . . . 16 ἐνέργεια*, 1099a 10 *τὸν . . . 11 φιλοδικαίῳ*. He also makes some emendations. 1104a 32 The scribe wrote *ἄ*. The Rubricator notes: *γὰρ ἄν*. 1109a 13 The scribe wrote *ἐχομεν πῶς*. The Rubricator draws attention to this by three dots over *ἐχομεν* and writes in the margin: *πεφύκαμεν πῶς*.

The Rubricator writes at f. 180a: *σημείωσαι περὶ φίλου*. Amicus alter ego. Now, if there could be any doubt about the epoch of his Greek hand, there can be none about that of his Roman, which is palpably fifteenth century. Nor is this all. The Rubricator is clearly identical with an annotator of Laur. 81, 20, as to whom see my last Study, at page 48, and he therefore must have been living in the middle of the fifteenth century. I hoped that he was Philelphus, but the hand does not resemble that of the Greek-Latin dictionary which is said to be written by Philelphus and which is in the Laurentian library, Conv. Sopp. 181.

By fixing the date of the Rubricator, we are enabled to fix approximately the date of two other correctors. At 1117b 18 *τὰ διὰ θυμῶν*, Susemihl² notes: '*διὰ* corr. 1 K^b; *κατὰ* pt. K^h.' Now the Rubricator has in the margin *τὰ κατὰ θυμῶν*, and he therefore must have written before the correction, which Susemihl so wantonly ascribes to the first corrector. On the other hand, he is later than another corrector. In 1115b 13 the original reading was *τοῦτο γὰρ τέλος ταῖς ἀρεταῖς*, the last two words of which were

corrected in the text into τῆς ἀρετῆς. The Rubricator has in the margin: τὸ καλὸν τέλος τῆς ἀρετῆς. This correction at least must date before A.D. 1450.

Where a correction consists merely in erasing or dotting or altering breathings or accents, its date cannot be readily ascertained. Some one has displayed considerable diligence in getting rid of *ν* ἐφέλευστικόν wherever it occurs before a consonant. In the earlier part of the book this is generally effected by erasure, but after 1165a 13, instead of *ν* ἐφέλευστικόν being erased, it is generally either dotted around or blotted over. This corrector sometimes blunders and strikes out a *ν* which is not ἐφέλευστικόν. Thus, in 1097a 24, the scribe wrote ταυτὸν, but *ν* has been erased. In 1148b 2 the corrector has erased the final *ν* in μοραίνων. Another or the same corrector has dealt with the accents and breathings, changing ὅτ' ἄν of the original scribe into ὅταν. So far as I can see, there are some corrections of an earlier date than the Rubricator and there was another hand of the fifteenth century contemporary with or later than him. It is obvious however that the date of a correction can seldom be certain where there are only a few letters to go by.

Most of the corrections are made within the text itself. That is to say, the word which it is desired to correct is altered into the word required with the least possible expenditure, as by the alteration of one letter into another, by the insertion of a letter or letters in the line, or by the addition of a letter or letters in small characters above the line. A few examples will make this method clearer. 1094a 4 The scribe wrote παρ' αὐτάς. A corrector has put a small *ε* over *ρ*, inserted a long thin *τ* between *ρ* and *α* and struck out the sign of elision and the breathing over *α*. 1094a 13 The scribe wrote χαλινοποικῇ. A corrector put a small *η* over the second *ι* and inserted a long thin *τ* between it and the third *ι*, thus producing χαλινοποιητικῇ. 1096a 13 The scribe wrote προοιμιάσθω. A corrector put a tiny *ε* over *π*, turned *ρ* into *φ* and the first *σ* into *ρ*. Thus you get πεφροιμιάσθω. In 1095b 22 the scribe's ὁμοπαθεῖν was changed into ὁμοιοπαθεῖν by the insertion of a small *ο*. In 1137b 5 the scribe wrote σπουδαία ἐστίν. ταυτὸν was got in with great dexterity between these two words. One thing is certain, namely, that none of these alterations belongs to the original scribe.

Of the additions there is no doubt that some are antecedent to the Rubricator, and belong to the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. To this class belong: 1123a 3 καὶ ἀντιδιωρέας (which is omitted by O^b); 1124b 7 οὐδὲ φιλοκινδυνος; 1132a 21 ἵεναι . . . εἶναι; 1160a 8 καὶ ἐπ' ἴσον διηκοντα; 1162a 30 οὐδὲν . . . 32 φίλον (καὶ is added in the margin after φίλον although it is in the text); 1165a 2 καὶ ἐχόντι. Other additions, though they seem to be of the fifteenth century, are in a different hand from that of the Rubricator; e.g. 1103b 14 συναλλάγμασι τοῖς; 1110a 25 μὴ δεῖ & καὶ (καὶ does not appear to be in the other manuscripts); 1129b 10 καὶ παράνομος; 1139a 4 αλογον' οὐν δὲ περὶ του λογον' εχοντος (no accents nor breathings). Bekker was wise in paying, on the whole, very little attention to any hands of K^b except the first. It has been corrected in an irregular

way from later manuscripts, but no corrections are earlier than the thirteenth century, and most are of the fifteenth. The only difficulty with K^b, which is a clearly written manuscript, is in ascertaining what corrections (if any) belong to the original scribe.

As regards the second preliminary point to which I referred, I have not taken account, as a general rule, in my collation, of differences of accents, breathing, wrong division of words, or punctuation. The reader is not to assume therefore that, where the printed text gives *αὐτοῦς* or *ταῦτα* K^b may not have *αὐτούς* or *ταῦτα*. These and similar variants cannot be of any material importance either towards the settlement of the text or towards the determination of the manuscript genealogy. Even here however it is necessary to make exceptions. 1101b 28 ἀριστειῶν pr.¹; 1114b 7 κρίνει; 1116a 35 οὐ οἱ ἀρκεῖον ἐσσεύεται. The accents and breathings are in a later hand; 1119b 23 οὐ] οὐ pr.; 1129b 21. The manuscript agrees with the printed text in giving ῥίπτειν. Bywater accents ῥίπτειν; 1137b 22 δὲ κἀν ὁ νομοθέτης] δὲ κανονομοθέτης pr.; 1139a 36 ἡ] ἡ; 1139b 1 γὰρ του] γὰρ τοῦ pr.; 1148a 30 ἡ] ἡ but the accent and breathing are over an erasure; 1152a 31 εἰρηὸς. In the margin a later hand has written εἰρηός; 1153b 37 γυμνασία. Here are some cases where the words have been wrongly divided. 1124b 24 ἀλλ'ἡ] ἀλλή pr.; 1134b 20 οὐ τῷ] οὐτω; 1141a 10 ἀποδιδόμεν οἶον] ἀποδιδόμενοι ὅς pr.; 1143a 15 ἄλλον] ἀλλ' οὐ pr.; 1148a 27 οὐ τῷ] οὐτῷ; 1152a 9 οὐ τῷ] οὐτῷ; 1164a 26 ὅσου] ὅς οὐ; 1172a 14 ἀπ' ἐσθλά] ἀπεσθλά.

Although errors of punctuation are not in themselves material, and therefore, as a general rule, I have not noticed them, yet they are often the cause of serious errors which only become fully intelligible when their origin is seen. A few examples may be usefully given. 1095b 4 διὸ δεῖ τοῖς ἐθεσιν ἡχθας καλῶς τὸν περὶ καλῶν καὶ δικαίων καὶ ὅλων τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀκουσόμενον ἱκανῶς (ἀρχὴ γὰρ τὸ ὅτι κ. τ. λ.). Susemihl rightly notes that the scribe of K^b wrote γὰρ ἀρχὴ for ἀρχὴ γὰρ and that mg^b wrote ἀρκεῖ for ἀρχή. What happened was this. The original scribe put a stop after ἀκουσόμενον and continued ἱκανῶς γὰρ ἀρχὴ τὸ ὅτι. The stop after ἀκουσόμενον and γὰρ were subsequently erased and a small γὰρ written over the line after ἀρχή. This may be due to a thirteenth century corrector. The ἀρκεῖ which is written in the margin with a reference across to ἀρχή is by the fifteenth century Rubricator. 1112a 5 λαβεῖν δὲ ἡ φηγεῖν οὐ πᾶν δοξάζομεν] Susemihl² fails to notice that K^b adds δὲ after δοξάζομεν. The reason why the scribe adds δὲ is because he puts a stop after πᾶν. 1118b 31 μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ, ὅτι] K^b punctuates and writes: μᾶλλον. ἢ δὲ ὅτι. 1126b 30 οὐκ ἀποδέχεται ἀλλὰ δυσχερανεῖ. διαφερόντως δὲ ὁμιλήσει.] Susemihl² does not notice—what Bywater does—that K^b has διαφερόντως διαφόρως. The

¹ When I say 'pr.' I mean, as Susemihl means when he says 'pr. K^b,' that the reading which precedes it was the original reading of the manuscript, but that it was subsequently corrected into the reading which

stands in the printed text with which my collation has been made. Susemihl occasionally adds K^b without more, though the reading has been corrected.

reason is that the scribe took *διαφερόντως* to belong to the previous sentence. There is no stop after *δυσχερανεῖ* but the scribe goes on thus: *διαφερόντως διαφόρως δέ*. 1147b 29 τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα μὲν οὐχί, αἰρετὰ δὲ καθ' αὐτὰ (λέγω δὲ οἶον νίκην κ. τ. λ.) Susemihl³ rightly notes 'δὲ ante λέγω pr. K^b'. The reason for this blunder is that the scribe put a stop after *αἰρετὰ δὲ* thus: *αἰρετὰ δὲ καθ' αὐτὰ δὲ λέγω οἶον νίκην κ. τ. λ.* Then a corrector—probably the thirteenth century corrector—altered the accent on the first δὲ struck out the second, and inserted δὲ after λέγω. 1148b 18 τὰ δὲ διὰ μοχθηρὰς φύσεις, ἔστιν καὶ περὶ τούτων ἕκαστα παραπλησίως ἰδεῖν [ξέει] Susemihl² does not observe that the manuscript has clearly *παραπλησίως*. (This is the reading of M^b, according to Bekker.) The explanation of the reading is no doubt this. The scribe has no stop after *φύσεις* but puts one after the next word, *ἔστιν*. He thus begins a new sentence with *καὶ περὶ τούτων ἕκαστα*. He can only have construed this sentence by taking *ξέει* to mean 'you will have' and he then naturally corrected *παραπλησίως*—an adjective *ἐν ποίῳ*—into *παραπλησίως*. 1155b 14 γίνηται δὲ μοχθηρὸς καὶ δοκῇ, ἂρ' ἐτι φιλητέον;] The scribe has γ. δ. μ. καὶ δοκεῖ ἀρετῇ; φιλητέον.

Subject to the exceptions mentioned above, I give all the variants of K^b from the printed text, save in so far as these variants have found a place in the *apparatus criticus* of the editions which I have used. It must always be remembered that my statements are supplementary to these editions—just as Rasmussen's statements in his *Forschungen* about Scholl's collation are supplementary to Bekker's academical edition. The minor variants may be grouped under the following heads:—

In the following cases the manuscript reads *ἀν* where the printed text has *ἐάν*: 1155b 11, 1155a 22, 1158b 33; and in the following cases it reads *ἐάν* where the printed text has *ἀν*: 1136a 1, 1144a 27, 1158a 34.

Here it reads *πᾶς*, etc., for *ἅπας* of the printed text: 1158a 33 *πᾶν*, 1155a 22 *πᾶς*, 1160b 35 *πάντων*, 1171b 27 *πᾶσι*.

In two cases it reads *γίνηται* for the printed *γίνεται*: 1151b 29, 1165a 7.

Here it has *οὕτως* where the printed text gives *οὕτω*: 1097b 27, 1102b 31, 1131b 8, 1164b 2, 1197a 39, 1201b 39, 1203b 20; and here it has *οὕτω* where the printed text gives *οὕτως*: 1194a 35.

Here it gives *ἐνεκα* where the printed text gives *ἐνεκεν*: 1122a 8, 1140b 18; and here it gives *ἐνεκεν* where the printed text gives *ἐνεκα*: 1190a 22.

Here it gives *οὐδεὶς* etc. for *οἷθεις* etc. of the printed text: 1115a 25 *οὐδεὶς*; 1116b 35, 1126b 13, 1165b 31, 1201b 6 *οὐδὲν*.

Here it gives *δ'* for *θ'*: 1125a 7 *οὐδ'*; here *θ'* for *τ'*: 1162b 24 *μάλιστα ἔταν*; 1179a 30 *μάλιστα ὑπάρχει*; here *ξ* for *σ*: 1143a 9 *ξύνεσις*; 1143a 10 *ξύνεσις* and *ἐξύνεσις*; 1143a 13 *ξυνέναι*; 1143a 21 *ξυγγνωμονικόν*; 1172b 6 *ξυνέντας*; here *σσ* for *ττ*: 1101a 26 *ἥσσαν*; 1110b 26 *πράσσειν*; 1176a 10 *διαλλάσσουσι*; here *μμ* for *μ*: 1152a 32 *ἐμμεναι*; and here *ρ* for *ρρ*: 1179b 16 *μεταρρυθμίσαι*.

Here the manuscript reads αὐτός, αὐτός etc. where the printed text reads ἐαυτός etc.: 1124a 27 αὐτοῦ; 1125a 28 αὐτοῦ; 1132b 13 αὐτοῦ; 1138a 22 αὐτὸν; 1138a 26 αὐτοῦ . . . αὐτὸν; 1160b 2 αὐτοῖ; 1166a 2, 31, b 26, αὐτὸν; 1168a 33 αὐτοῦ. In 1171a 3 the manuscript reads ἐαυτὸν where the printed text has αὐτὸν.

In the following cases there is no elision in the manuscript although there is in the printed text: (a) *a* is not elided: 1103b 28 ἵνα ἀγαθοῖ; 1105b 28 τὰ ἄλλα; 1112b 4 κατὰ ἱατρικὴν; 1114b 9 παρὰ ἑτέρων; 1129b 16 κατὰ ἄλλον; 1146a 28 μετὰ ἀκρασίας; 1155a 7 μάλιστα εἶναι; 1168a 29, 1172a 6 μάλιστα ἀγαπῶσιν; 1184b 35 ἄρα ἂν; 1189b 16 ὅποια ἂν; 1207a 5 ἐνταῦθα ἐλάχιστος; 1209b 30 διὰ ἡδονῆν. (b) *ai* is not elided: 1162b 28 καὶ οὐκ; 1169a 19 καὶ ἔαν; (c) *e* is not elided: 1103b 2 τὰ δὲ ἀνδρεία; 1105a 21 οὐδὲ ἐπὶ; 1107b 24 δὲ ἐλέγομεν; 1113b 14 οὐδὲ δέον; 1117a 3 δὲ εἴκειν; 1118b 10 δὲ ἀμφοῖν; 1118b 24 δὲ οἱ; 1121b 26 πότε ἀναγκασθῶσιν; 1124b 14 δὲ ὑπερέχειν; 1125b 12 δὲ ἀφιλότιμον; 1129b 25 δὲ ὁ; 1131b 2 ὥστε ἔαν; 18 δὲ ἔλαττον; 1132b 5 δὲ ὑπερ; 1132b 16 μῆτε ἔλαττον; 1134a 26 δὲ ἐπὶ; 1136b 6 οὐδὲ εἰς; 1142b 8 δὲ εἶ; 1152b 30 δὲ οὐδὲ; 1153b 7 τε οὐδὲν; 1160a 33 δὲ ἀπὸ; 1169a 17 δὲ ἐπιεικὴς; 1174a 16 δὲ εἴκειν; 1179b 21 δὲ εἶθι; 1186b 13 δὲ ἐνδείας; 1212b 28 δὲ ὁ; 1213b 4 οὔτε ὀλίγους. (d) *i* is not elided: 1180b 8 ἐπὶ ἱατρικῆς. (e) *e* is not elided: 1104a 12 ὑπὸ ἐνδείας; 1105a 5 ταῦτο οὖν.

In the following cases there is elision or crasis in the manuscript although there is none in the printed text: 1107a 32 δ' ἐπὶ; 1114a 30 καπὶ; 1136a 2 τὰδικήματα; 1138a 22 τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα; 1141a 30 τὰ αὐτοῖς ταυτοῖς pr.; 1209b 35 δ' οὐδὲ.

In the following cases the manuscript retains *v* ἐφέλκυστικόν; 1101b 1 εἴκειν pr.; 1110a 21 ὑπομένωσιν; 1113b 9, 1118b 17, 1170b 15, 1173b 9, 1185b 12, 1185a 24, 1186a 36, 1196b 38, 1199a 7, 1209b 30, 1203a 30, 1204b 38 (2nd), 1205b 6, 1207b 34 (2nd), 1208a 39, 1209b 21, 25, 1210a 2, 1211b 30, 1212b 15, 1215a 13, 1213b 24 (both) ἔστιν; 1113b 21 εἴκειν; 1116b 24 δοκοῦσιν; 1121b 7 πορίζουσιν; 22, ἐλλείπουσιν; 1132b 11 ἐλθόντων; 1134a 22 ἐμοίχευσε; 1144a 23, 1186b 16 καλοῦσιν; 1145b 31 συγχωροῦσιν; 1165b 7 ὦσιν; 1166b 16 ἐλπίζουσιν; 1178a 2 δοξέειν; 12 πράξεσιν; 20 πάθεσιν; 1185b 28 φθείρουσιν; 1194a 7 φησιν; 39 ἥρξεν; b 37 μεταπίπτουσιν; 1202a 19 εἰσιν; 1207b 26 φασιν; 1212a 39 ποιήσουσιν. In the following cases the manuscript omits *v* ἐφέλκυστικόν; 1145b 34 ὀλιγοῦροισι; 1160b 19, 1200a 2, 1204a 26, 1208a 32 ἔστι; 1205a 24 διατιθέασιν.

As regards the vowels, the manuscript gives *a* for *o*: 1130b 14 προειλάμεθα; *a* for *ai*: 1208b 10 αἰεὶ αἰεὶ; *ai* for *e*: 1164b 13 αἰνωχου; *ai* for *ei*: 1111a 15 πατάξαιεν; *ai* for *ae*: 1106a 25 θεωρήσαιμεν; *e* for *η*: 1167a 32 ἔθελεν; *e* for *i*: 1114b 26 ἡμῖν ἡ μὲν.

It gives *ei* for *e*: 1104a 3 ἀπαιτητέοι pr.; 1137b 16, 1138a 29, 1163b 1 πλείον; 1155b 4 ἐς εἰς; *ei* for *η*: 1107b 12, 13 λήψει λείψει pr.; 1138b 23 ἀρίευσιν; 1143a 9 ἡ μὴ εἰ μὴ; *ei* for *ηi*: 1112a 1 δόξῃ δόξει; 1117b 10, 1120b 2 ἔχει; 1154b 23 πράττει pr.; 1158b 21 ἀπονέμει pr.; 1164a 7 φιλεῖ; 1165b 14 δοκεῖ; 1167a 7 ἐπιθυμεῖ pr.; 1174b 29 ἐνεργεῖ; 1198a 30 προσ-

τάττει pr.; 1200a 7 ἄγει; 1210a 27 ποιεῖ . . . ἐλλείπει; ei for i: 1095b 11 πείθεται; 1096a 17 εἰδέας pr.; 1099b 4 εἰδέαν pr.; 1103b 20 and 21 οὕτωςεἰ; 1108a 24 εἰτραπέλεια; 1118a 13 εἶδοι pr.; b 14 ἡδεῖω; 1127b 34 παιδείας; 1129a 29 εἰδέαν pr.; 1132b 14, 18 ζημιοῦσθαι pr.; 1138a 6 ἀποκτεινύναι pr.; 13 ζημιοῖ pr.; 1141a 14 μαργεῖτη; 1149a 7 δεδεῖναι pr.; 8 ἐδεδεῖη; 1150a 31 μαλακείας pr.; 1154a 6 ἡδεῖων pr.; 1160a 33 ἀριστοκρατεία pr.; 1167a 5 εἰδέαι pr.; 1171b 23 ἡδεῖον; 1175b 8 ἡδεῖων; 1176a 7 ἡδεῖον pr.; 1181b 21 συνείδουμεν pr.; 1182b 10 (both times) 12, 13; 1183a 28, 30, 32, 37; b 7 εἰδέα or εἰδέαν or εἰδέας pr.; 1184a 29, 1188a 4 οὕτωςεἰ pr.; 1185a 9 εἶδοι pr.; 1193a 11, 19 εἰτραπέλεια pr.; 1201b 28 οὔτωςεἰ pr.; 1205a 7 συνείδοι; ei for oi: 1100b 4 συνακολουθήμεν.

The manuscript gives η for ε: 1107a 25 ἁμαρτάνηται; 1126a 13 γίνηται; 1148a 25 διεἰλόμην; η for εἰ: 1122b 28 δαπανήση pr.; 1141a 11 πολυέκλητον; 1149a 8 ἐδεδεῖη; 1169b 13 πησομένων; 1190a 17 δεῖ] δῆ; 1193a 28 ἡρωεῖας; 1203b 5 πῆσεται pr.; 1212b 3 πῆσεται; η for ι: 1170a 12 θεόγησ; 1179b 6 θεόγησ; η for εἰ: 1115b 20 πάσχη καὶ πράττη; 1116a 23 ἀναθήσχη; 1120b 29 δαπανήσχη; 1128b 29 πράξχη pr.; 1133a 1 ἀντιποιήσχη pr.; 1165a 10 ἔχη; η for oi: 1164b 8 συμβαίνχη.

The manuscript gives ι for αι: 1146a 1 ἡρεμία pr.; ι for ει: 1096b 5, 1106b 30, 1132b 22 πινθαγόριοι; 1097a 3 ἰδόμεν; 1122a 2 ἀισχροκέρδεια pr.; 1141b 20 ἐρίθια; 1145b 6 καταλίπηται; 1185b 6 εὔμαθια pr.; 1202b 17 γραφίον; 1206b 16 ἐελπίοντος; ι for η: 1099a 6 ἐπίβολοι; 1101a 13 ἐπίβολος pr.; 1102b 9 πλιε pr.; 1177b 19 θεωρητικῇ.

The manuscript gives ο for οι: 1112a 29 πολιτεύοντο; ο for ω: 1096b 5 πινθανότερον; 1120a 24 δόσει pr.; 1138b 16, 1139b 36 διορίσθω; 1152b 11 τοῦτον; 1158a 21 ἀγοραῖον pr.; 1165b 7 οἶονται; 1168a 34 βέλτιω; 1169b 10 ἀγαθόν; 1173b 24 τῷ] τὸ pr.; οι for ει: 1138b 31, 1148b 32, εἴποιεν; ου for ω: 1161a 6 διαφέρουσιν pr.; ω for ο: 1100b 13 βεβαιώτης pr.; 1152a 28 εὔιατωτέρα; 1155a 7 ὠφελος pr.; 1159b 15 ἄλλω perhaps corrected from ἄλλο; 1174a 24 κίονος pr.; 1177a 34 βέλτιω pr.; 1180a 10 ἐξορίζειν pr.; ω for οι: 1164b 27 ἄμφων; ω for ου: 1120b 19 ἐπιμελώμενον.

I have been the more particular in detailing these minutiae, as Susemihl takes credit to himself for the exactness with which he reproduces K^a. In hiitibus aut plene scribendis aut elisione vel crasi tollendis, in οὕτως et v ἐφελευστικῶ ante consonantes ponendo, in οὐθείς vel οὐδέίς, γίνεσθαι vel γίνεσθαι, γινώσκειν vel γινώσκειν scribendo ubique secutus sum K^b codicem praestantissimum et antiquissimum.²

I gladly turn to variants of more importance.

1094a 5 ὦν δ' εἰσὶ] δ' εἰ are over an erasure. b 21 τοιούτων] The second ο and ω are over an erasure.

1095a 13 Susemihl reads τοσαῦτα in his text and notes 'τοσαῦτα etiam K^b'. This is wrong; K^b has ταῦτα as Bekker and Bywater rightly state. 20 παρὰ τὰ πολλὰ] τὰ is above the line and in a later hand.

² Quoted by Apelt at p. 21 of his Prooefatio much the same in his preface to the *Great Ethics Nicomachea*. Susemihl says *Morals*, p. xvii.

b 6 Both Susemihl and Bywater read *εἰ τοῦτο φαίνοιτο* in their texts and note: '*εἰ τοῦτο*] *ἐν τούτοις* pr. K^b.' Bekker reads the same and notes: '*φαίνοιτο*] *ἐν τούτοις* K^b. *τοῦτο* margo K^b.' What K^b has in the text is *εἰ ἐν τούτοις φαίνοιτο*: *εἰ* is original. The Rubricator put *τοῦτο* in the margin with a reference across to *ἐν τούτοις*. I do not see what is wrong with K^b's reading, *ἐν τούτοις* meaning *ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ δίκαιοις καὶ ὅλως τοῖς πολιτικοῖς*. 11 δ' αὖ] αὖ is in a later hand over an erasure. It is not clear what there was originally. 27 πιστεύσωσιν] K^b seems to have had originally *πιστεύσασιν*. The correction is perhaps by the scribe. 31 φαίνεται δέ] According to the authorities, pr. K^b has γάρ instead of δέ. This is right. K^b has now φαίνεται δέ (new line) γάρ. δέ, which is in a later hand, seems to be over an erasure. γάρ is surrounded by dots.

1097a 14 εἰρήσθω] ω is over an erasure. 24 ταύτων] It was originally *ταυτὸν* but ν has been erased.

1098a 22 δόξει] Now δόξει but εἰ are written over letters which have faded. b 29 ἐν γέ τι ἡ καὶ τὰ] Susemihl notes: '*ἐν γε τῇ τὰ* pr. K^b *ἐν γε τὶ τὰ* corr^a.' What K^b has now is *ἐν γε τὶ . . . τὰ*. There is an erasure of perhaps two letters. Bekker, like myself, could not make out what had been erased.

1099a 7 ἔστιν] ἔστι is in the margin with a reference across. b 2 τητῶμεναι] Susemihl notes: '*τητῶμενοι* pr. K^b.' It is now *ἡτῶμενοι* but a letter has been erased before ἡ. 5 ἡ φίλοι ἡ ἀγαθοὶ] ἡ before φίλοι is in K^b, as Susemihl rightly says, but there is no ἡ after φίλοι, as Bywater rightly says. The confusion seems to have arisen from the lines in Susemihl³ being different from Bekker's. In Bekker's academical edition line 5 ends ἡ φίλοι ἡ and he says in reference to the second ἡ 'ἡ add. L^b M^b O^b.' If Susemihl's observation 'ἡ etiam in K^b nisi falsus est Schoell' refers to the second ἡ, it is wrong.

1100a 6 εὐθνεῖν] Susemihl notes '*εὐσθενοῦντα* K^b.' It is now as Susemihl says, but σθ are written in blacker ink over letters that have faded.

1101a 22 ἀπάντων] K^b had originally ἀπόντων. The σ was corrected by a later hand into α but the smooth breathing was left. b 21 τοιούτων] τοιού (new line) ούτων.

1102b 9 δυνεύονται] καὶ δυνεύονται.

1103b 8 τέχνη] The scribe first wrote τέχη and then corrected his mistake.

1104a 10 τοῦ παρόντος] παρόντος. b 32 τῶν ἐναντίων] τῶν (new line) τῶν ἐναντίων.

1106a 20 ἐνεγκεῖν] After this word two or three letters have been erased. 34 τε] om. b 21 οὐ ἐνεκα] οὐνεκα pr.

1107a 14 περὶ] περὶ. b 8 ἔστωσαν δέ] Susemihl rightly gives ἔστω δέ as the original reading, but he does not point out that ω δ are over an erasure. Was it ἔσται δ'?

1108a 8 ἀόρητος] ἀόρηστός. ἀορησία] ἀνορησία. 30 ἐν πᾶσι ἀνδράσιν] This is the present reading but σιν is over an erasure and ἀ was

added later. It was originally: *ἐν πᾶ . . . ἡδῆσ*. 32 *καὶ αἰδήμων] καὶ ὁ αἰδήμων*.

1108a 17 *μᾶλλον]* 'μᾶλλον om. K^b M^b' says Susemihl. This is wrong as far as K^b is concerned. 25 *τὸ μέσων]* Originally *τὰ μέσα*, corrected probably by the scribe.

1110a 6, 7 *πράξαντος]* In both cases a later hand has corrected the word by writing *ε* over *ο*. 25 *μὴ δεῖ δ]* This is omitted by the scribe as Susemihl rightly says. A later hand has added: *μὴ δεῖ δ καὶ. ὑπερτείνει]* *τείνει* is over an erasure. *b* 12 *οἱ δέ]* *δε* is in a small hand above *οἱ* but probably by the original scribe. 19 *ἐπ' αὐτον]* *υ* is over an erasure. The letters underneath may have been *οι*, as Schöll reports.

1111a 2 *ἀκουσίως]* The final *σ* is above the line but probably by the original scribe. 12 *ἐσφαιρῶσθαι]* First *αι* is in a later hand over an erasure. 13 *κίσσηριν]* *κίσσιν*. As L^b, according to Bekker, has *κίσσηριν*, the form with one *σ* is here the better authenticated. 25 *πρώταν]* is followed by an erasure of three to four letters. *b* 13 *ἀκρατής]* One letter has been erased after *ρ*. No doubt the scribe wrote *ἀκροατής*, see 1156b 6. 18 *θυμὸς]* over an erasure.

1112a 7 *μάλιστα ἴσμεν]* *μάλιστα μὲν ἴσμεν*. Bekker rightly notes *ἴσμεν]* *μὲν ἴσμεν*, his reference being to the first *ἴσμεν* in line 8. Both Susemihl² and Bywater have gone wrong, Susemihl is saying that K^b has *ἴσμεν μὲν ἴσμεν* and Bywater in saying that it has *πάνν μὲν ἴσμεν*. 18 *πότερα]* *πότερον*. 21 *περὶ δὲ τῶν]* *περὶ τῶν δέ*. *b* 25 *ἀφίστανται]* *ἀφιστάναι*.

1113a 15 *τάγαθόν]* Susemihl², with whom Bywater agrees, notes 'τάγαθόν Γ Asp.; ἀγαθόν codd.' K^b has clearly *τ' ἀγαθόν*. *b* 5 *ἀν εἰεν]* *εἰεν ἀν*. 9 *αἰσχρόν . . . 11 ἡμῖν (1st)]* om. K^b. According to Susemihl² '10 *αἰσχρόν . . . 11 ἡμῖν* om. K^b', but the omission really begins at *αἰσχρόν* in line 9. Susemihl's error is due to the fact that his division of lines does not correspond exactly with Bekker's. In Bekker's text both *αἰσχρόν* are in line 10, and his note in regard to the omission is correct. 14 *μάκαρ]* *μακάριος*.

1114b 9 *οἶόν τε]* *οἶονται*.

1116b 1 *παπαύττοντες]* The third *α* is over an erasure.

1117a 31 *περὶ]* om. *b* 8 *ἀκοντι]* After *ἀκοντ* there is a hole in the parchment and *τι* is written above it in a smaller hand.

1118a 17 *κατὰ συμβεβηκός]* *κατὰ τὸ συμβεβηκός*. 32 The *ρ* inserted between *ε* and *υ* in *ἐρύξιας* is not by m. 1 as Susemihl² says, but probably by the Rubricator. *b* 6 *γινόμενοι* of Susemihl² is a printer's error.

1119b 19 *ταῦτ' . . . 22 ἐλευθεριότητος]* These words are at the end of Γ. Δ begins (f. 39a) after the title with *λέγωμεν δὲ καὶ ἐξῆς περὶ ἐλευθεριότητος* (i.e. this phrase is repeated).

1120a 8 *τοῦτο]* According to Susemihl² K^b M^b have *ἐκαστον*. This is wrong as regards K^b. 11 *ὅθεν]* *ὅθεν ὅθεν*. The first *ὅθεν* is surrounded by dots. 18 *ἐλευθέριοι]* *εἰλεύθεροι* pr. 32 *ή]* corrected by the scribe from *ο*. *b* 20 Susemihl's note 'οὐθ' K^b' is correct as referring to the second *οὐδ'*.

1121a 6, 7 ἀνάλωσεν] ἡγάλωσεν. 18 τοὺς ιδιώτας δίδοντας] τοὺς δίδοντας ιδιώτας. 26 τὸ ὑπερβάλλειν] τὸ μὴ ὑπερβάλλειν pr. b 22 γλίσχοι] γλί is in a later hand over an erasure. According to Schöll, as reported by Rassow, the word was originally αἰσχοί. 33 ἀνελευθέρους] ἀνελευθερίους pr. 34 κατὰ μικρὸν] Susemihl² notes (in agreement with Bekker) 'καὶ τὰ μικρὸν καὶ pr. K^b'. I think Bywater is right in saying that the original reading was not καὶ τὰ but κατὰ. The manuscript now has καὶ τὰ μικρά . . . ἐπὶ πολλοῖς. The ι of καὶ is later; the α of μικρά is over an erasure under which was perhaps ὄν; καὶ has been erased thereafter. The original was probably κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ.

1122a 1 λαμβάνουσιν καὶ] Susemihl² says that K^b has λαμβάνουσιν τε καὶ. This is wrong. It had originally λαμβάνουσιν καὶ, but the final ν of λαμβάνουσιν has been erased, as is regularly done with ν ἐφέλκ. before a consonant. 15 ἢ κατὰ] ἢ οἱ κατὰ pr. 18 δόξειε] δόξαι. 21 χρήμασι] σ is in a later hand over an erasure. According to Schöll (in Rassow) the original reading was χρήματι. 29 ἐλευθέριος] ἐλεύθερος pr. b 13 ταῦτα] According to Susemihl² this is the reading of ro. K^b as against ταυτὰ of 'the manuscript tradition'. Bekker reads the same and notes: 'ταυτὰ H^a; ceteri ταῦτα.' Bywater reads ταῦτα and notes 'ταῦτα H^a'. K^b now has ταυτὰ but an accent has been erased over the first α, and the accent over the second is later. It may have had originally ταῦτα, but, as I have said before, I do not see that anything is gained by recording the manuscript testimony in a case of this sort. 15 κτήμα μὲν γάρ] Susemihl² notes that a later hand has changed this into κτήματος μὲν γάρ ἀρετῇ, but he fails to note that the same late hand has added καὶ before τιμωτάτων in line 16 and altered ἔργον into ἔργον. 22 οἶονται δεῖν] Susemihl² rightly says that K^b originally had οἶόντε. The later hand has not altered this, but has added δεῖν above the line. 23 ἐστιᾶν] The original reading is ἐστὶν ἄν. It looks as if the scribe had taken the beginning of the word for the third person singular present indicative of εἶναι and naturally added ν ἐφέλκ.

1123a 24 Μεγαρεῖς] Susemihl² has no note here. Bekker notes 'μέγαροι K^b'. Bywater reads Μεγαροῖ and notes 'μεγαροῖ pr. K^b'. It is now μεγαροῖ but was originally accented μέγαροι, as Bekker says. I would read μεγαρικοῖ and supply κωμωδοῖ from the line above. b 1 τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἔξιν] It was originally τὸν but has been corrected into τὰ. 17 δ' ἀξία] The first α is over an erasure. Schöll (in Rassow) says that the original reading was δεξία. 25 πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μὲν] μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν. 33 γελοῖος] This is the present reading, but the σ is over an ν and the circumflex is later. I think that it was originally γελοίου, not γελοῖον, as Bekker says. The correction may be due to the scribe.

1124a 9 γε] Originally τε, but τ has been changed into γ by a later hand. 20 διὸ ὑπερόπται] Now διὸ καὶ ὑπερόπται but καὶ is later. b 26 φανερόμισος] or is in a later hand over an erasure. Schöll (in Rassow) says that the original reading was φανερόμιση. b 29, 30 As the readings of K^b are not very clearly stated, I give them here. (I preserve the lines of the manuscript.) It had originally in the text:—

φανερῶς καταφρονητικοῦ γὰρ παρρησιαστοῦ
 . . . γὰρ παρρησιαστικὸς δὲ διὰ τὸ καταφρονητι
 κὸς εἶναι καὶ ἀληθευτικὸς πλὴν ὅσα μὴ δι' εἰρωνεί

Perhaps διὸ was in the space which I have marked with dots. It now has in the text:—

φανερῶς καταφρονητικοῦ γὰρ παρρησιαστής
 . . . καὶ παρρησιαστικὸς δὲ. διὸ . . . καταφρονητι
 κὸς . . . καὶ ἀληθευτικὸς. πλὴν ὅσα μὴ δι' εἰρωνεί

καταφρονητικοῦ γὰρ are surrounded with dots. In the margin opposite these three lines are in a later hand:—

γὰρ, διὰ τὸ καταφρονη
 τικὸς εἶναι. κατα
 φρονητικὸς δὲ
 διὸ παρρησιαστικός.

1126a 3 ἀοργησία] ἀνοργησία. See 1108a 8. 16 τοῦτο] τοιοῦτο.
 b 10 δυσχεραίνει] δυσχεραίνει.

1127b 6 ἡυλαβεῖτο] The original reading, as Susemihl² rightly says, was εὐλαβεῖτο. It is now εὐλαβεῖται. 15 τῷ] τῷ. 19 ὦν ἐνδεῖα καὶ ἀπό-
 λανσις] The original reading, as Susemihl² rightly says, was ὦν ἡδεῖ
 ἀπόλανσις. The manuscript has now ἡδεῖ but the accent and breathing are
 late. I would suggest ὦν ὡνητὴ ἢ ἀπόλανσις κ.τ.λ. 'Those who play the
 boaster for the sake of gain make pretence of those things which their
 neighbours have to pay for to enjoy.' The language of Aspasius rather
 confirms this: p. 124, 5 (Heylbut) τὰ τοιαῦτα προσποιούνται ὥν ἀπολαύειν
 ἔστι τοῖς πέλας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔταιμοι εἰσι προέσθαι ἀργίριον τοῖς δυναμένοις
 αὐτὸ (read. αὐτὰ) παρέχειν.

1128a 20 ἐλευθερίου] ἐλευθέρου. 28 ἀκούσεται] ἀκούεται. b 13 ἐρυ-
 θραίνονται] ἐρυθραίνονται. 24 οὐδὲν] οὐδὲν οὐδὲν. 32 τὸ] 'τὸν τὰ' K^b.
 This note of Susemihl² refers to the second τὸ.

1129b 3 ἀ] Susemihl² notes 'ἀ om. pr. K^b.' ἀ is in the line but smaller.
 I think it was added by the original scribe. 24 ὀρθῶς] This was the original
 reading of K^b, but it has been corrected into ὀρθός—which is the reading of
 M^b. 25 αὐτῇ] ταύτῃ, not ταύτῃ, as Susemihl² asserts.

1131a 7 δουλοπατία] δολοπατία. 25 διανομαῖς] νομαῖς, in spite of
 Susemihl². b 10 τοῦτο] Schöll (in Rasso) says 'τοῦτω m. pr. corr. m.
 alt.' but I think that he is wrong and that τοῦτο was the original, τοῦτω the
 corrected reading. 17 τὸ μὲν πλεον τὸ] τῷ μὲν πλεον τῷ²

1132a 4 πρὸς] πρὸ. μόνον βλέπει] βλέπει (erasure of one letter) μόνον.
 11 εἴη] Susemihl² notes 'ἡ pr. K^b.' It was, and is, ἡ. 31 ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ]
 ὥσπερ ἂν. b 2 τε] om. 6 αα ββ γγ] ΑΑ ΒΒ ΓΓ and so forth. So
 1133a 7, b 4, 23. 7 προσκείσθω] προσκειται.

1133a 3 ἱερὸν] ἱ is over an erasure. 10 τὸ αὐτοῦ] τοῦ αὐτοῦ. 15 ἂν]
 om. Bekker notes 'ἂν om. O^b,' but K^b also omits it. 21 μετρεῖ ὥστε]

μετρίως τὸ pr. b 26 ὅτι περτε] Susemihl rightly says that pr. K^b omits this. What is supplied above the line by the later hand is ὅτι δέκα.

1135a 25 φ] It is now ὅσ but σ is over an erasure. It was probably originally ὁ. οὐ] It is now ὅν, as Susemihl² rightly says, but ο is over an erasure. It may have been ὁν. b 32 The note of Susemihl³ 'περὶ δὲ τοῦ pr. K^b' refers to περὶ τοῦ where it occurs for the second time.

1136a 12 ἀτόπως] τοπως pr. Originally there was no accent. 13 βραχύς] A letter has been erased before β. b 3 ὀρθός] ὀρθῶς pr. The correction is probably by the scribe. 5 οὐν τις] οὐτις. 6 ἀκρατής] ἀκροατής. 15 ποτ' ἀδικεῖ] It is now πότε ἀδικεῖ, but α and the first ε are over erasures. Susemihl may be right in saying that the original reading was πότε δοκεῖ. 22 καὶ κατὰ] Susemihl³ notes: 'καὶ non deest in K^b.' It is wanting.

1137a 15 ἐλλέβορον] ἐλέβορον. This, according to Bekker, is also the reading of L^b M^b. In 1199a 32 the scribe wrote ἐλλέβορος, which has been corrected by a later hand into ἐλλέβορον. 18 Susemihl³'s note 'οὐχ ἦττον K^b' refers to the second οὐδὲν ἦττον. 23 ὥδι] ὥδε, but in 25 ὥδι. b 2 ὅτε] οὔτε. 10 σπουδαῖον ὄντων] σπουδαίων ὄντων. This is perhaps right. In 1173a 10 K^b has ἀμφοῖν γὰρ ὄντων κακῶν, where L^b M^b read ὄντων κακοῖν. 13 νομῖμον δικαίου] δικαίου νομῖμου. 15 οἷον τε] I agree with Schöll (in Rasso) that this was originally οἷονται. 23 ᾗδε] ἥδη. 35 ὁ γὰρ] ὅς γὰρ.

1138a 18 τῷ αὐτῷ ἄν] ἄν τῷ αὐτῷ. b 2 μέλει] A later hand has made this into μέλλει.

1139a 3 ἐλέχθη] ἐ is over an erasure. 4 τό τε] The second τ is wanting. Schöll (in Rasso) says 'med. litt. erasa.' I think that the defect is merely due to a bit of the parchment having rubbed off. 4 ἔχον . . . 5 λόγον] It should be noticed that the hand which added these words in the margin omitted καὶ τὸ. b 3 Susemihl³ notes: 'τὸ om. K^b.' This refers to the second τὸ. 11 ἀγένητα] ἀγέννητα.

1140b 15 δυοῖν ὀρθαῖς] Susemihl³ rightly notes: 'δυὸ ὀρθὰς pr. K^b.' The later hand, while correcting ὀρθὰς into ὀρθαῖς has left δυὸ unchanged. 17 ἡ λύπη] ἡ λύπη pr. The correction may be by the scribe.

1141a 28 τὸν αὐτῶν] τὸ is over an erasure and so is the rough breathing. b 34 αὐτῷ] Susemihl³ notes: 'αὐτοῦ ut videtur pr. K^b, sed m. 1 corr. αὐτοῦ, m. 2 corr. αὐτόν.' It is now αὐτόν, and was, I think, originally αὐτῷ.

1142a 5 ἴσον] Susemihl³ notes: 'ἴσω pr. K^b.' This is wrong. It was originally ἴσον and corrected, perhaps by the scribe, into ἴσων. b 28 οὐ δεῖ καὶ ὅς] οὐ δικαίως pr. 33 οὐ ἢ] Originally, as Susemihl³ rightly says, ἢ οὐ; now ἢ οὐ.

1143b 19 ἔσται] over an erasure. 25 εὐεκτικά] εὐκτικά.

1144a 3 Susemihl³'s note 'ποιουσῶν K^b' refers to the second ποιοῦσι. 14 οἷον] Susemihl³ notes: 'οὐ pr. K^b.' Schöll (in Rasso) notes: 'ἢ m. alt. in rasura, οὐ m. pr.' It is now ἢ over an erasure. b 22 προστιθέασι] ἐ is above the line in a smaller hand, but probably by the scribe.

1146a 3 πρακτικὴ ἦν] πρακτικὴν. 9 ἐκείνης . . . ἐκείνη] In both places ἐκείνη. b 10 ὁ αὐτὸς] αὐτός.

1146a 14 μῆ] is surrounded with dots by a later hand. 15 οὐδ' εἰ] changed by a later hand to εἰ δέ. b 22 ὠδὴ] ὠδῆ.

1147a 2 μέντοι] τοι is dotted round by a later hand, and μέν altered to μὲν. 4 τὸ . . . τὸ] Originally τὰ in both cases. 6 After ἀνθρώπος a later hand has added ἔστιν above the line. 9 εἰδέναι] changed by a later hand into εἶραι—which is the reading of L^b O^b. 21 καὶ οἱ] changed by a later hand into καίτοι. 34 οὐν] is dotted round by a later hand. b 9 ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ] ἐπειδὴ pr. The correction is perhaps by the scribe. 11 τὸ] A small ω has been added over o. 22 εἶναι] ἔστιν pr. 32 τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς] Originally τὸ μὲν αὐτοῖς, then corrected to τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς.

1148b 2 μοραίνειν] The final ν of μοραίνειν has been erased, and a word erased after it—perhaps, as Schöll (in Rasso) says, μοχθηρία. It is the last word on the page, f. 80b beginning with μοχθηρία. Repetitions of a word by the scribe are not uncommon. 19 θηριώδεις] εἰ is over an erasure. Susemihl² notes: 'θηριώδους pr. K^b ut videtur.' 32 οὐκ ὅπ. ἀλλὰ ὅπ.] οὐχ ὅπουναι ἀλλὰ ὅπουνται. If Bekker is right, M^b N^b adhere to the same spelling. In Plat. Crat. 402c—a quotation from Orpheus—where Schanz reads ὅπουν, he notes that the Clarkianus reads ὅπουν.

1149b 17 φρονέοντος] φρονέοντες pr.

1150a 4 γὰρ ἡ] γὰρ ἡ (new line) ἡ. The first ἡ was afterwards corrected into ἡ. b 2 ἀντιτείνουσι] ντιτεί are over an erasure. 4 ποιήσῃ] π is over an erasure. 11 ἐκκαγχάζουσιν] ἐκκαχ (erasure of two letters) ζουσιν pr. It was no doubt originally, as Bekker says, ἐκκαχλάζουσιν, which is the more authentic form. 32 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀνίστατος] is added above the line in a small hand.

1151a 6 οὐκ] is added above the line. 7 παρά] παρὰ. b 21 οὐτ'] over an erasure. 23 ἦττον] Perhaps originally ἦταν.

1152a 4 Susemihl²'s note 'καὶ K^b' refers to the second καὶ δ. b 31 αἰρεται] αἰρέεται pr.

1153a 30 αἰ] above the line but probably by the scribe. b 3 ὦ] Schöll (in Rasso) says 'ὦ m. pr. ἡ m. alt.' It is now ἡ.

1154a 4 οὔτε κακὸν γὰρ οὐτ' ἀγαθὸν] οὐτ' ἀγαθὸν γὰρ οὔτε κακὸν. 11 μοχθηραὶ] μοχθηρίαί. 18 ἐναντίως] ἐναντίοις. 29 σφοδραὶ] σφοδρά. b 9 ὁμοίως δὲ ἐν μὲν] ὁμοῦ δὲ ἐν. 10 οἱ οἰνωμένοι] οἰνωμένοι. 11 ἀεὶ δέονται] δέονται ἀεὶ. 12 λατρείας] σ is over an erasure. διὰ] om.

1155a 31 οἴονται] οἴοντε. b 3 μὲν ὄμβρου] ὄμβρου μὲν. 10 τὰ ἡθῆ] τ' ἀληθῆ. 27 ἀψύχων] ἀ (new line) ἀψύχων.

1156a 18 ὅσπερ] ὅπερ. 24 δοκεῖ] A word has been erased after this—probably δοκεῖ. b 4 συνημερεύειν] συνημερεύσειν. 33 λογὰ] λόγια.

1157a 17 φίλους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις] φίλους ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι. 24 ἐτέραις] Not ἐτεραίαις, as Susemihl² says, but ἐταιρείααις, as Bekker says.

1158a 12 τοιούτων] τοιούτο pr. 21 ἀγοραίων] ἀγοραίων pr. The correction is perhaps by the scribe.

1159a 16 τὸ δὲ φιλεῖσθαι] om. ἔγγυς] ἡ ἔγγυς. 20 ἂν του] ἀνθ' οὐ. 29 δόξασι] δοκοῦσιν. 33 ὄγνωαν] ἄνοιαν. b 19 ἐφίεται] ἐφίεται. 30 τὸ δίκαιον] τὸ is above the line in a later hand.

1166a 19. θιασώτων] Now θιασώτων, but the first ω is over an erasure.
22 τοῦ παρόντος συμφέροντος] ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος. Bekker's only note is
'τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος O^b.' Bywater notes that K^b inserts ἐπὶ, but neither
observes that συμφέροντος is omitted. 29 ἀκολουθήσουσι] ἀκολουθήσονται.
b 15 πλείστον] πλείστον pr. 23 ἀν] οἱ.

1161a 1 οὐχ ἢ ἀμείνων] οὐχὶ ἀμείνω. 28 βούλονται] βούλεύ(next line)
λονται. λεύ has been dotted over and the accent added over the first υ
probably by the scribe. Schöll (in Rassow) says (not quite accurately) 'εν
exruxit ipsa m. pr.' b 5 δοῦλος, οὐκ ἔστιν φίλια] The scribe wrote
δοῦλος. δοῦλοις μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν φίλια. A later hand put dots above δοῦλοις
μὲν and drew a line around it, and wrote over the line in a small hand οὐκ
ἔστιν φι. 18 τι] τέ pr. 25 γενόμενα] has been corrected by a later hand
into γεννώμενα which, according to Bekker, is the reading of M^b. 27 μάλλον
αἰ μητέρες] αἰ μητέρες μάλλον.

1162a 26 εἰ] οἱ pr. 30 οὐδὲν . . . 32 φίλον καὶ] According to both
Schöll (in Rassow) and Susemihl, the scribe omits the passage. He omits it
all except the last word. The omitted part is added in the margin in a
thirteenth century hand, and after φίλον the marginal annotator adds καὶ,
although it is in the text. b 10 εἰν ἢ] ἂν εἴη. 31 φίλον δωρεῖται] φιλο-
δωρεῖται pr. 32 ἴσον] After ἴσον—so accentuated in K^b—a word of about
four letters has been erased.

1163a 2 καὶ ἐκόντι] added in the margin in a later hand. 3 διαμαρ-
τόντα] διαμαρτάντα pr., corrected by the scribe. 6 ὁμολογήσαι] ὁμολογήσαι
pr., corrected to ὁμολογήσῃ. 9 ὑπομένη] pr., corr. to ὑπομένην. 10 πότερα
δεῖ] ποτέραι δὲ. 30 οἶονται] οἶοντε pr. b 12 οὕτω] τοῦτω pr. 28 περὶ
. . . εἰρήσθω] treated as part of Θ.

1164a 16 ἄσειεν] εἶεν. 23 προλαβόντος] προσλαβόντος. b 20 τοσ-
ούτου . . . ὅσου] τοσούτου . . . ὅσον. 32 δάνειον] δ' ἄμεινον.

1165a 11 οἶονται] οἶοντε. b 14 ἄρ' ἔτι] ἀρετῇ. 33 φίλοις] φίλος
pr., corrected by the scribe.

1166a 7 ἢ] οἱ. 20 οὐδεὶς αἰρεῖται] αἰδεῖται οὐδεὶς.

1167b 13 ἐξετάζει] ἐξετάξει.

1169a 6-7 τοὺς . . . σπουδάζοντας] K^b has τὸν . . . σπουδάζοντα,
which is the preferable reading. Bekker only notices this with reference to
M^b and Susemihl⁸ only notices it with reference to σπουδάζοντα. 31 ἐπαι-
νετόν] ἐπαι ἐπαινετόν. b 17 τὸν μ.] τὸν τὸν μ. 30 ὥσπερ] ὥσπερ
ὥσπερ.

1170a 17 ἀνθρώποις] ἀνθρώποι.

1171a 3 πολλοῖς] πολλάκις.

1172a 8 φαύλων] φίλων pr., corrected by the scribe. 15 περὶ . . . 16
ἡδονῆς] treated as part of I. 23 διατείνει] διατείν over an erasure.
b 3 οὐκ ἔστι] οὐ (new line) οὐκ ἔστι.

1173b 1 πρὸς ἕτερον] πρότερον. 10 τοῦτ' ἂν] τοῦτο. 14 λυπῶν καὶ
ἡδονῶν] λυπῶν καὶ ἡδονῶν. 10 ἀλυποί] λυποί pr. α is added in a later
hand.

1174a 10 εἶδει ἡ ἀφ' ὧν] K^b has now ε... δει ἀφ... ὧν. There was originally a rough breathing over the first ε and a circumflex over εἶ, both erased. One letter has been erased after the first ε and three after φ; Bekker thinks that the original reading was ἡ δεῖ ἀφ' αὐτῶν. 33 ταύτων] τὸ αὐτὸ. b 5 δ' ἐν] δε. 7 δόξειε] δόξει. 31 ποιήσαντοσ] ποιήσαντος pr. πεισομένων] πει... σομένων pr. One letter is erased after ε. Bekker notes 'πησομένων K^b' which is probable.

1175b 13 ἐπεὶ δ'] ἐπειδὴ pr.

1176a 11 τέρπει... 1177a 30 ἱκανῶς] Susseml² says 'om. pr. K^b'. This is wrong. Susseml¹ in his first edition rightly says 'om. K^b'. μὲν (1176a 11) is the first word on f. 121b and the next is κεχορηγημένων (1177a 30). When Susseml² refers to readings of K^b during the interval, he is drawing false inferences from the apparatus of Susseml¹.

1177b 12 φόνοι] φόνοσ. 17 ἀσχολοι καὶ] ἀσχολικαί.

1178a 3 ἀμεινον] ἀμεινον μένον. b 11 ἡ] om. 13 ὑπομένοντας] ὑπομένοντες.

1179a 11 κεχορηγημένους] κεχορηγημένοισ. 18 τὰ] added above the line by a later hand. 25 ἀνθρωπίνων] ανθρώπων. b 24 ἰσχύει] ἐισχύει. All the editors seem to be wrong here about K^b.

1180a 4 καὶ ὅλως δὴ] δὴ καὶ ὅλως. 29 ἀλόχον] ἀλόγον pr. The scribe was no doubt led astray by the identity of meaning. b 4 νόμιμα] νόμιμα pr.

1181a 4 After ἴσως three letters have been erased. 8 προέλονται] προέλονται pr. 10 διὰ τῆς π. σ. π.] So pr. A later hand has dotted over πολιτικῆσ and written μάλλον above the line before πολιτικοί, thus making the reading conform to that of L^a O^b. 22 εἰ εὖ ἡ] Susseml² notes 'ἡ εὖ ἡ' K^b. It is ἡ εὖ ἡ. b 3 γίνεσθαι] φαίνεσθαι γίνεσθαι. φαίνεσθαι is dotted over probably by the original scribe.

1182a 24 Title. Ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν μεγάλων A. 26 οὐν om. b 7 τοῦ] τὸ pr.

1183a 21 εἰπεῖν] ἔστιν εἰπεῖν. ἔστιν is dotted over probably by the original scribe. b 11 ὅτι] om. 14 καὶ τῶν] καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν. 29 χρῆσασθαι] χρῆσθαι.

1184a 14 καὶ τέλος τῶν ἀγαθῶν] καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀγαθόν. 17 ἐπειδὴ] After ἐπειδὴ two letters have been erased. b 9 τὸ [1st]] τῷ. 13 ἔχειν] εἰ is over an erasure. 29 εὖ [1st]] om. 34 ἀρετῶν] αἰρετῶν.

1185a 11 λέγειν] λέγειν τὸν τοιοῦτον. γὰρ] δὴ. 30 καὶ] καὶ pr. The correction is perhaps by the scribe. 39 σαφέστερον] σφέτερον pr. b 9 τὰς τοῦ τοῦ] τὰς τοῦ pr. ἔχοντος] There is an erasure after the second ο. In Laur. 81, 13, as to which see hereafter, ἔχοντος is corrected from ἔχοντασ. 12 ἡ] Sic K^b. Susseml¹ is wrong in saying that the ε adscript is wanting. 13 ἡ ἠθικῇ] ἠθικῇ. 14 ἡ ὑπερβολῇ] Susseml¹ is wrong in saying that ἡ is omitted by K^b. Probably his note refers to the line above.

1186a 10 τῇ] om. 11 ὅτι τοῦτων] τοῦτων ὅτι pr. A later hand has put α over ὅτι and β over τοῦτων. 18 ὀργιζόμεθα] Erasure after second α. b 8 μεσότητι αἴσθη] om. 20 ἔστι... 21 γὰρ] εἶναι τοῦ μέσου ἐγγύτερον

οἶον. 31 ὑπερβολῇ] ῆ is added above the line before ὑπερβολῇ in a later hand.

1187a 8 ὀντιναοῦν] ὀντινοῦν. 17 μῇ] μηδὲ. 28 οὖν ἐν τῷ] δὲ καὶ τὸ pr. τὸ is original, but it has afterwards been surrounded by dots. 35 ἐναργεστερον] ἐνεργέστερον. Yet in line 30 it is spelt as printed. b 7 ἀψύχων] pr., corrected later into ἀψυχον. 19 ὅτι] ὅτι καὶ. 30 βελτίων] v is added above the line in a later hand.

1188a 38 πρότερον] πρότερον pr. Cp. 1190a 34. b 8 βιαζομένοις] βιαζομένους. 19 δε ἀν] It is now δε (erasure of two letters) ἐαν.

1189a 2 ἄλλοις] Ἀλλοις ἄλλοις is written in a small hand ἀλόγοις. 4 ἐν] om. 5 γε] τε pr. 23 τῇ] om. 25 ῆ] om. b 22 γὰρ] om. 24, 25 ἀόριστον] In both cases the first ο is above the line in a small hand. Schöll (in Rasso) thinks that the correction is by m. alt. but it may be by the original scribe.

1190a 4 κατὰ] πρὸς. 14 ἡ οἰκοδόμος] οἰκοδόμος pr., corrected into ἡ οἰκοδόμος. 34 πρότερον] πρότερον pr. b 2 ἀνθρώποι] om. 32 αὐτοῖς] om. 37 αὐτῶν] pr. ἀπ' is added above the line by a later hand.

1191a 13 οὐκέτι ἔσται ἀνδρείος] om. 15 εἶναι] om. 17 K^b has not ὁπαιοῦν but ὁπαιοῦν οὖν. 21 παρῇ] om. b 8 οὗτος ἀκόλαστος] οὗτος ὁ ἀκόλαστος. 14 πάντα τὰλλα] παντ' ἄλλα pr. 26 μετῴητες] μεσώτης pr.

1192a 8 καὶ ὅτε δεῖ] om. 11 τὸ μὲν] τό τε μὲν. 17 τὸ ὅπλα] pr., now τὰ ὅπλα. b 13 ἐν οἷς] According to Susemihl, K^b originally read ἐνίοις. It originally read ἐν οἷς. The first ι of ἐνίοις is inserted by a later hand. 14 μεγαλοπρέπειαι] μεγαλοπρέπεια pr. 20 ἐπαινετός] ἐπαινος pr. 37 πρὸς πάντας] πάντας pr.

1193a 9 εὐλαβηθήσεται] εὐλαβήσεται. 21 πράξεις] πράξις. b 12 οὐδὲ] ἡ οὐδὲ. 20 τῷ] τὸ pr., now τῷ. 37 τὸ δίκαιον ἴσον] δίκαιον τὸ ἴσον.

1194a 6 τοῦ δίκαιου] τὸ δίκαιον pr. 18 τῷ ἀναλόγῳ] τῷ ἀναλόγῳ. 23 νομίσμα] νομίσματι. 39 ἀκολουθήσαντα] ἀκολουθήσαντα.

1195a 5 καὶ] om. pr. 9 οὐκ ἔστι δέ] om. 38 ἡ φυσικῇ] φυσικῇ. b 12 ἑλαττων] ἑλαττω. 23 ἀδικαίντο οὕτως] ἀδικαίνονται οὕτως.

1196a 2 εἰ] One corrector put three dots over this word, and another erased them. b 2 ἀληθεία] ἀλθείαι pr. η was added above the line between λ and θ probably by the scribe. 3 τὸ αὐτῷ] ταυτῷ K^b notes Susemihl. It is ταυτῷ. 16 μόριον] μόριον λόγον. 36 δ' ἐπιστήμη] δ' ἡ ἐπιστήμη.

1197b 1 ἐκείνως δὲ οὐ συμφέρει] om. 3 τοῦτο] τούτων. 7 γὰρ (2nd)] om. 10 δῆλον] is followed by an erasure of four or five letters. 11 ἡ περὶ τῇ] According to Schöll (in Rasso) it was originally ἡ περὶ τῇ. It was certainly ἡ and ἡ τῇ are over an erasure.

1198b 9 τῇ] om. 24 Title. 'Ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν μεγάλων B.

1199a 3 κρίσω τοῦ] κρίσω τῶν τοῦ. b 33 γὰρ ὁ φαῦλος] ὁ φαῦλος γὰρ pr. 37 πότερ] πότ'.

1200a 19 τῆς] om. 31 αἱ] om. 35 μὲν μέχρι] μὲν οὖν μέχρι. 36 ποιησαμένοις] ποιησαμένους. b 5 τῇ] om. 16 τῇ (2nd)] om. 39 εἴη] om.

1201a 1 πράττει μῇ] πράττειν pr. 3 φαῦλα (2nd)] Two letters are

erased before this word. According to Susemihl the word erased was *οὐ* but this is not certain. 8 *ἐποιουν*] *om.* It is not omitted in line 9. 19 *δοκεῖται*] *δοκεῖ τῷ pr.* 24 *τῷ λογισμῷ*] *τῶν λογισμῶν.* 33 *ἤγαγεν*] *ἤγεν.* b 6 *τῷ*] *τῷ pr. τῷ m. alt.* 8 *δόξαν ὑπέρ*] *δόξαν ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν ἐπίστασθαι ὑπέρ.* The words between *δόξαν* and *ὑπέρ* are dotted over, but whether by the scribe or by a later hand, as Schöll (in Rassow) thinks, is uncertain. 11 *τὸ ἐπίστασθαι*] *ἐπίστασθαι.*

1202a 5 *πάλιν*] *'om. K^b'* says Susemihl wrongly. *Πάλιν* is both here and in the line below. 9 *ἐσομένου*] *ἐπομένου.* 18 *οὐδὲ*] *οὔτε δὲ.* 35 *ἀκρασία*] *ἀκράτεια.* b 3 *ὁ ἀπλῶς*] *πῶς ὁ.* 6 *ἀρχή*] Schöll (in Rassow) notes *'ὄργη* m. pr., corr. m. alt.' *χ* is over an erasure and *α* looks as if it had been altered from *ο*. It may have been *ὄργη*. 9 *ἄν* is a printer's error in Susemihl. It should be *ὧν.* 38 *αὐ*] *οὐν.*

1203a 1 *ἡ οὐ*] *παν.* 10 *ὁμῶς*] *ὁμοίως.* 28 *ἀρχή*] There is a mark of reference after *ἀρχή* and a later hand has inserted in the margin: *ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀκρατεῖ ἡ ἀρχή.* b 16 *ἐγγένοιτο*] *ἐγγένοιτο pr.* 21 *μὲν γὰρ σῶφρων ὁ*] is inserted at the end of one line and beginning of another in a smaller and later hand. 29 *οἷος ὁ ἀκόλαστος*] *οἷος ἀκόλαστος.*

1204a 1 *οἷος ὁ φαῦλος*] *οἷος φαῦλος.* 8 *ἀπορήσει γὰρ ἄν*] *ἀπορήσει γὰρ.* 10 *ὁ ὀρθὸς*] *ὀρθός.* b 22 *εἰς γενέσεις*] *ἐστὶν γενέσεις pr.* 25 *γένεσις*] *γένεσις.*

1205a 3 *καὶ πρὸ λήπης*] *om.* 6 *ἡ*] *om.* 19 *ἡστιν οὖν*] *τινὸς οὖν pr.* 20 *διακρίσεται*] *διάκειται.* 22 *διήφοροι*] In the margin: *μή ποτέ μάλλον ἠδιάφοροι γραπτέον. γραμματικά, ἡ*] Between these words there is an erasure of three or four letters. *ἐν Δ. καὶ ἐν I.] ἐν λαμπρῷ καὶ ἐντελει (sic).* b 15 *τούτου*] *τούτο.* 19 *μή*] *om.*

1206a 27 *δεικτοποιοί*] *δεινοποιοί pr.*

1207a 12 *ἄν τις τάξειεν*] Susemihl notes: *'ἀντιστάξειεν pr. K^b'*. There was originally no accent on the first *α*. 15 *εὐνοια παρὰ*] *εὐνοια ἡ παρὰ.* 18 *ἡ* (2nd)] *om.* 22 *ἡμῖν γὰρ*] *ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ.* b 20 *καθόλου*] *καὶ καθ' ὅλου.* 25 *ἀγαθὸν*] *καὶ ἀγαθόν* in both places. 26 *φασί*] *φησιν pr.*

1208a 11 *γὰρ*] *om.* 13 *ἐνεκεν ἐστίν*] *ἔχομεν ἐνεκεν.* 27 *φησί*] *φήσει.* 32 *ταῖτα*] *ταύτας.* 39 *παραδιδόναι*] *παραδοῦναι.* b 6 *συμπαρηληπτέα*] *συμπαρηληπτόν pr.* 13 *κεραμίδι*] *κεραμίδι*, according to Susemihl, but there is no accent. 17 *τῷ ἐναντίῳ*] *τὸ ἐναντίον pr.* 18 *οὐδὲ*] *οὐδέν.* 29 *πρὸς θεόν*] *πρὸς τὸν θεόν.*

1209a 12 *ἡ*] *'εἰ K^b'* says Susemihl. It is *εἰ*. 28 *αἰ*] *om.* b 23 *ἀπολείπει*] The last two letters are over an erasure. Schöll (in Rassow) has *'ἀπολείπη m. pr.; corr. m. alt.'* *φιλία*] There follows an erasure of about two letters. 32 *ἀρετή*] *ἡ* is over an erasure.

1210a 12 *ἴσασθαι*] *οἰεσθαι pr.* corrected by the scribe. 27 *τοιούτων*] A letter erased after this. 32 *ἡ* Susemihl by a printer's error for *ἡ*] *om. pr.* 34 After *μή* an erasure of two or three letters. b 1 *αἰ*] *om.*

1211a 38 *τῷ*] *τὸ pr.* b 13 *δοίη*] *η* is over an erasure. 30 *οἰκοδομικῇ*] *αἰ* (next line) *οἰκοδομικῇ.*

1212a 7 *φιλίας ἡ εὐνοια*] *ἡ εἰποια φιλίας.* 11 *ἡ*] *om.* 20 *ἡ*] *εἰ.* τῷ

ταύτων] τοῖς τὸ ταυτὸν. b 4 τοῦτου] τοῦτο. 17 αὐτῷ . . . ὄντα] οὐ.
30 φίλον] φίλων.

1215a 21 εἶδομεν] ἴδομεν—not ἴδωμεν as Susemihl says. 23 ὡς φαιέν]
ὡς ἂν φαιέν.

Before I pass from the unattractive subject of the *Great Morals* I wish to call the reader's attention to two manuscripts of this treatise at Florence which, so far as I know, have not hitherto been made use of.

Bekker based his academical edition on two manuscripts—K^b and M^b (Marc. 213)—but he occasionally referred, e.g. pp. 1189, 1204, 1205, 1207, to some of the Paris manuscripts, of which there is an unexplored quantity, and to two manuscripts at Oxford—Z, which is Corpus Christi 112, and Baroccianus 70. Susemihl made considerable additions to the testimony. I hope that his references to the other manuscripts are more accurate than they are to K^b, where, as the patient reader has seen, he has neglected many important variants which were noticed by Bekker. Susemihl accepted in substance the division into two families which Bekker had indicated. To the first family, of which K^b is the most important representative, he assigned the Corpus Christi manuscript, the old translation, the translation of George Valla, and the first Aldine edition. To the second family he assigned P^b (Vaticanus 1342) and C^b—the Cambridge manuscript which is so closely connected with P^b. An intermediate position (so he says) is occupied by P^c (Coislin 161) although on the whole it agrees rather with the first family.

Without disputing Susemihl's classification, I must point out that in the *Great Morals*, as in some others of the writings attributed to Aristotle, the manuscript evidence has not as yet been sifted and exhausted. For example, it is probable that a future editor of the *Great Morals* will be able to dispense with the Latin translation of George Valla. For there exists in the R. Biblioteca Estense at Modena a manuscript of the *Great Morals* in Greek (No. 88) written by George Valla himself, as appears from the subscription (see Allen's *Notes on Greek Manuscripts in Italian Libraries*, p. 11, and Puntori's *Indice dei codici greci della biblioteca Estense di Modena in Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, vol. iv, p. 444). It seems probable that George Valla made his translation either from this copy or from its archetype.

The two manuscripts to which I wish to call attention are Laur. 81, 12 and Laur. 81, 13. Laur. 81, 13 was written at Milan in 1444 by Demetrius Sgouropoulos for Philadelphus. The close agreement between it, the Corpus Christi manuscript, the Aldine edition, and the old translation may be shown by many examples. In 1182a 3, 7, 9 (*bis*) K^b has rightly ἔσται. In all these four places Laur. 81, 13 has ἔστω. In three of them [3, 9 (*bis*)] according to Susemihl, P (the old translation), Z (the Corpus Christi manuscript) and Ald. have ἔστω. In one place (7) he does not note any variant. This may be mere carelessness, as the old translation read ἔστω also here. Here are the words of Bartholomew of Messina (I take them from Laur. 27, dext. 9): 'Nullum enim fortassis proficuum scire quidem virtutem, quomodo autem

utique et ex quibus non adire. Non enim solum quomodo sciamus quid est scrutari oportet sed ex quibus est perspicere. Simul enim scire volumus et nos ipsi esse tales; hoc autem non poterimus nisi sciverimus et ex quibus et quomodo *utique*. Necessarium quidem ergo est—it is to be observed that Bartholomew read *οὐν*, which is omitted by K^b but retained by Laur. 81, 13—'scire quid est virtus. Non enim facile scire ex quibus *utique* et quomodo *utique*, nescientem quid est.' Any one who wishes to understand how the mistake arose has only to examine the forms of *ἔσται* which are given in Allen (Plate 5) and Zeritelli (Plate 8).⁵

A few more examples may be given in which Laur. 81, 13 agrees with Z and Ald., or with one of them, against the rest of the testimony, so far as one may judge from the editions of Bekker and Susemihl: 1182a 14 *ἐποίησαντο* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *ἐποιέοντο* cett.; 21 *ἀνάλογον* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *ἀλογον* cett.; 31 *ἠψαντο* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *ἐφηψαντο* cett.; 1183a 5 *τοῦτο* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *τούτω* cett.; 30 *δεῖν* (prius) om. Z Laur. 81, 13; 34 *οὐ γάρ* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *οὐχ* cett.; b 19 *ἐπειδὴ* Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *ἐπεὶ δ'* cett.; 1192a 24 *δεῖ ἢ* Ald. Laur. 81, 13; *δὴ* or *δεῖ* or *δὴ ὀρθῶς* cett.; 1194a 23 *καὶ πρὸς τὴν* Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *καὶ τὴν* cett.; 1196b 6 *τὸν βέλτιστον* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *τὸ βέλτιστον* cett.; b 19 *χρῶμά τε* Z Ald. *χρῶμα τέ* Laur. 81, 13 *χρῶματα* cett.; 1197a 6 *οἰκίας ποιητικῆς* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *ποιητικῆς οἰκίας* cett.; b 14 *μικρὸν* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *μικρὸν* cett.; b 34 *ἐπὶ πάντων* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 (also P² Laur. 81, 12) *περὶ πάντων* cett.; 1198a 29 *ἢ* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *εἰ* cett.

It is impossible to trace with precision the relations between Laur. 81, 13 and the other members of the group to which it certainly belongs. Susemihl's record of their readings is not exhaustive. Moreover, most of the later manuscripts are still unexamined. It is however possible to make some definite statements as to the relationship of Laur. 81, 13 to K^b, and these statements will probably hold good in substance with regard to the other authorities of the same family. Laur. 81, 13 is closely related to K^b, but it is not a copy of K^b. It agrees with K^b in many omissions and many palpable errors. On the other hand—to say nothing of its variants from K^b—it contains a considerable number of words and passages which are omitted in K^b. For instance, 1186a 6 K^b omits a passage which is thus given in Bekker and Susemihl: *ἂν τις οὖν ἄνω ῥέπτη πολλὰς καὶ ἐθίζῃ ἄνω φέρεσθαι*. (It is supplied in the margin by a fifteenth century hand, who however omits *οὖν*, as Susemihl rightly says.) Laur. 81, 13 gives the passage, omitting however *οὖν ἄνω*, in which it is followed by Aldus.

In 1186b 8 K^b omits *μεσότητι οἴσῃ*. Laur. 81, 13 omits *οἴσῃ* but has *μεσότητι*. In 1190b 2 Laur. 81, 13 has *ἀνθρώποι*—in the form *ἄντοι*—which K^b omits; in 1190b 7 it has *ἐπεὶ δέ*, which K^b pr. omits; in 1191a 21 it has *παρῇ*, which K^b omits; in 1194a 24 it has *καὶ τούτω*, which K^b pr. omits; in 1197b 1 it has *ἐκείνω* (in the form *ἐκείνω*) *δὲ οὐ συμφέρει*, which

⁵ In 1212a 20 where K^b has *ἔσται* and Susemihl does not notice any variant, Laur. 81, 13 has *ἔσ*.

K^b omits; in 1203a 7 it has *αὐτῶ μὲν οὖν οὐ δόξειεν ἂν ὁ ἀκρατής*, which K^b omits; in 1203b 21 it has *μὲν γὰρ σωφρων ὁ*, which K^b pr. omits.

As the independence of Laur. 81, 13 has thus been ascertained, we are justified in using its readings to a certain extent to test the originality of the corrections in K^b. If the reading of Laur. 81, 13 agrees with the original reading of K^b, we are justified in thinking that the corrected reading of K^b is not the reading of its archetype. On the other hand, if the reading of Laur. 81, 13 agrees with a correction in K^b, we are equally justified in thinking that that correction, if the other marks of antiquity coincide, was due to the original scribe. A few examples will make this clear. In 1185a 39 the scribe of K^b wrote *σφέτερον*, but this has been corrected in a small hand into *σαφέστερον*. Laur. 81, 13 has *σαφέστερον*. In 1191b 26 the scribe wrote *μεσότης* which was corrected into *μεσότητης*, and this is the reading of Laur. 81, 13. We may infer that in both these cases, the correction of K^b was due to the original scribe.

On the other hand, in 1183b 28 *δυνάμει*, which is the original reading of K^b, is confirmed by Laur. 81, 13, and we may therefore infer that the *σ* which was added in K^b is not by the scribe, although the ink is of the same colour. In 1185b 9 K^b has *ἔχοντος*, but there is an erasure over the second *α*. Laur. 81, 13 has also *ἔχοντος*, but the second *ο* is corrected from *α*. We are therefore justified in inferring that their archetype had *ἔχοντας*, the more so as M^b, Coisl. 161 and Laur. 81, 12 have *ἔχοντας*. Evidently *ἔχοντας* was the original reading, which has been corrected in different ways. In 1200b 3 *οὐκ ἐναντιοῦται*, the original reading of K^b, is confirmed both by Laur. 81, 13 and Aldus; in 1203b 26 *οὐ λόγος*, the original reading of K^b, is confirmed by the same authorities. In 1203b 35 K^b originally read *ὁ λόγος σπουδαῖος* and Laur. 81, 13 originally read *ὁ λόγος ὁ σπουδαῖος*. In K^b and in Laur. 81, 13 *οὐ* is added above the line. In 1207a 30, K^b pr., Aldus and Laur. 81, 13 have *κερδάνοντα*. It was a later hand in K^b that changed *α* into *ο*.

Laur. 81, 12, the manuscript of John Rhosus of Crete, on which I have dilated in my former Study, represents a different tradition. It agrees very closely with Coisl. 161, as far as one can judge from Susemihl's references to that manuscript. Coisl. 161 and Laur. 81, 12 represent a tradition which is entirely independent of K^b—more independent perhaps than M^b, which seems to me to belong to the K^b class but to have been afflicted with many conjectures. I add a few passages from which the characteristics of these new manuscripts may be estimated.

1182b 5 Bekker read *ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ ἄρα ἀγαθοῦ ἡμῖν λεκτέον*. Susemihl puts *ἀγαθοῦ* after *λεκτέον*. Now K^b reads *ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄρα ἀγαθοῦ ἡμῖν λεκτέον*, in which Z and Laur. 81, 13 agree. And Coisl. 161 reads *ὑπὲρ πολιτικοῦ ἄρα ἡμῖν λεκτέον ἀγαθοῦ*, in which Laur. 81, 12 agrees. For the other authorities, see Susemihl. The passage should be cut out. It has got in the text by being repeated from the passage a few lines above: 1182b 2 *ὑπὲρ ἀγαθοῦ ἄρα ὡς εἰσιν ἡμῖν λεκτέον*. 30 *τέλος*, which Susemihl receives, is a conjecture of Bonitz. K^b, Laur. 81, 13 and (according to the editors) all

the other authorities read τέλους. Laur. 81, 12 reads τέλοσ, corrected into τέλους.

1183a 39 ἐπεὶ Bekker, Susemihl] K^b has ἐν ὧ. Laur. 81, 12 and 13 with most manuscripts, ἐρῶ.

1183b 7 Here Laur. 81, 12 supports another conjecture of Bonitz: διὰ τὸ οὐκ οἰεῖται.

1186b 7 Bekker and Susemihl read οὐχ ἡ θρασύτης ὑπερβολὴ οὐσα but all their manuscripts read οὐχ ἡ ὑπερβολὴ θρασύτης οὐσα. Laur. 81, 12 reads the same except that it leaves out the article. Laur. 81, 13 reads οὐχ, θρασύτης ὑπερβολὴ οὐσα. 17 μαινομένους] ἐξεστηκότας Laur. 81, 12, 33 ἐπίσκεπται] Laur. 81, 12 has ἐπίσκεπταί τε, in which it agrees with P² and Laur. 81, 13 ἐπισκεπτόν, agreeing with Aldus.

1190a 32 Both Bekker and Susemihl read θῆ. K^b has φῆς; M^bP² and Laur. 81, 12 have φῆ; Laur. 81, 13 has θεῖς, agreeing with Aldus.

1191a 2 τοὺς σὺς] τοὺς ὄσ Laur. 81, 12 33 οἱ κίνδυνοι πλησίον εἰσίν] πλησίον is a conjecture of Bekker. K^b has πλείον and so, according to the editors, has M^b. Laur. 81, 13 and Aldus have πλείστοι. P² has πλησίον and Laur. 81, 12 anticipates Bekker's conjecture by reading πλησίον. b 26 εἶποι] ἴδοι Laur. 81, 12.

1194a 22 ἐστίν, ἀργύριον] ἐστὶ καὶ τινες ἀργύριον Laur. 81, 12.

1195a 21 πολέμιον] ἐχθρόν Laur. 81, 12.

1197a 34 ὄντα] ἔχοντα Laur. 81, 12. b 27 εἶναι ὁ δεινὸς] δεινὸς εἶναι ὁ δεινὸς Laur. 81, 12. 35 τοὺς λόγους] τὰς σκέψεις Laur. 81, 12.

1198a 10 τὴν ἀρετὴν λόγον M^b, Bekker, Susemihl] τὴν ἀρετὴν λόγονα K^b Laur. 81, 13 τὰς ἀρετὰς λόγονα Laur. 81, 12. b 28 λέγει] λέγεται Laur. 81, 12. 33 ἀπέλιπεν] παρέλιπεν Laur. 81, 12.

1199b 33 τὸ σῶμα is adopted by Bekker and Susemihl from Aldus. It is also the reading of Laur. 81, 13. K^b has τὰ σώματα. M^bP² and Laur. 81, 12 have τὸ σῶματι.

1200a 20 μεγάλη γινόμενη] μεγαλυνόμενη Laur. 81, 12. b 20 ἂν δέοι Bekker, Susemihl] δέοι ceti. δεῖ Laur. 81, 12.

1202b 13 προθύμως] ἐτόμως Laur. 81, 12.

1203a 13 ὅσω γε ὁ τιμιώτερον K^b, Laur. 81, 13. Bekker, Susemihl.] Laur. 81, 12 reads ὅσω γε τιμιώτατον, which rather supports Spengel's conjecture ὅ τὸ τιμιώτατον. b 9 Both Bekker and Susemihl read οὐκ ἂν ἴσαστο, which is a conjecture of Casaubon. K^b has οὐκ ἀνείσαστο, and Laur. 81, 13 οὐκ ἂν εἶσαι τὸ. Laur. 81, 12 has οὐκ ἂν εἴσαστο.

1205a 14 ἡδονή], ἡδέα Laur. 81, 12. 15 ἡδονή (2nd)] ἀγαθόν Laur. 81, 12. 22 καὶ ἐν Ἰλαί] καὶ ἐν Ἰλαί Laur. 81, 12.

1206b 5 Susemihl accepts a conjecture of Spengel and reads ὁ γὰρ λόγος φαύλως διακείμενος. The authorities (including Laur. 81, 13) have λόγῳ φαύλῳ or λόγῳ φαύλῳ. Laur. 81, 12 has λόγῳ φαύλῳ.

1207a 3 ὡσαύτως] ὡσαύτως ἔχον Laur. 81, 12. 31 πράξαι K^bP² Laur. 81, 12; ὑπάρξαι M^b Laur. 81, 13. b 15 ἐν αὐτῷ] ἐν αὐτῇ Laur. 81, 12, supporting a conjecture of Scaliger. 21 συνθέτας] συντεθέντα Laur. 81, 12; Aldus.

1208a 19 ἐνεργεῖν K^b, Laur. 81, 13, Aldus; ἐπιτελεῖν M^bP^z Laur. 81, 12, 28 τῶν τοιούτων Bekker, Susemihl] τῶι τοιούτῳ K^b and most; τῷ τοπῳ Laur. 81, 12.

1209a 6 ἔχεται δὲ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ K^b Laur. 81, 13 cett.; ἐνδέχεται δὲ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν P^z Laur. 81, 12.

1212b 3 πῆσται K^b ποιήσται Laur. 81, 13 πείσται cett. Laur. 81, 12.

1213b 28 ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ φιλίᾳ Susemihl]. According to Susemihl all the manuscripts have τῇ ἐν αὐτῇ φιλίᾳ. Bekker reads ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ φιλίᾳ and does not notice any variant. K^b has τῇ ἐν αὐτῇ φιλίᾳ, but Laur. 81, 12 has ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ φιλίᾳ.

W. ASHBURNER.

THE GREEK PAPYRUS PROTOCOL

THE recently published vol. iii. of the late Jean Maspero's *Catalogue of Greek-Byzantine Papyri at Cairo*¹ contains a text (No. 67316, Plate VIII.) which is of considerable importance for the study of that palaeographical crux, the Greek papyrus protocol. It may be well to recall that the protocol was the official mark placed at the top of each roll of papyrus, the manufacture of which was a Government monopoly. When the practice was first instituted we do not know, but no protocols earlier than the Byzantine period have been discovered. Justinian's *Nov.* xlv. c. 2 forbids notaries to use any papyrus except such as has *πρακείμενον τὸ καλούμενον πρωτόκολλον, φέρον τὴν τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐνδοξοτάτου κόμητος τῶν θείων ἡμῶν λαργιτιῶνων προσηγορίαν, καὶ τὸν χρόνον, καθ' ὃν ὁ χάρτης γέγονε, καὶ ὅποσα ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων προγράφεται.* The Byzantine protocol is written in an exceedingly artificial and illegible script, mainly consisting of indistinguishable upstrokes, to which, therefore, I have elsewhere given the name of 'perpendicular writing' (a name which Maspero adopts), and which I am inclined to suspect was modelled on the chancery hand seen in a well-known order for the release of a convict now in the Berlin collection of papyri. The writing seems to have been done with a brush rather than a pen, as the strokes are very thick. Under the Arabs the manufacture of papyrus continued to be a Government monopoly, and the protocol was still affixed to each roll; but during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, according to the historian Al-Kisâ'i,² the Arabs substituted for the traditional formula a new one, which varies indeed not inconsiderably, but contains, in rough but comparatively legible script, the Mahommedan confession of faith in Arabic and Greek, retaining however the illegible script at the sides as a sort of frame to the Greek lines. It seems highly probable, as suggested by C. H. Becker (*Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.* xxii. pp. 178 f.), that the scribes at this period attached no meaning whatever to this 'perpendicular writing' but inserted it merely to equalize the length of the Greek and Arabic lines or for aesthetic reasons.

The first approximately legible protocols of the Byzantine type to be discovered (except perhaps one published by Wessely in his *Studien zur Papyrus- und Papyruskunde*, II. xli., where, however, Wessely's reading of

¹ *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*, Cairo, 1916.

² See the passage quoted by Karabacek, *Steiner, d. l. A. kat. d. Wiss. in Wien*, 161 Bd. I. Abt., pp. 11 ff.

the name is not probable) were some published in the second volume of Maspero's catalogue. The most legible was that in No 67151, and Maspero gave a tentative reading of part of this. Now at last 67316 gives us a protocol which, instead of an all but uniform succession of upstrokes with, at most, one or two recognizable letters here and there, shows a script not very dissimilar from the cursive of ordinary use. There is little doubt that if the protocol were complete it could be read entirely, but it is unfortunately fragmentary. Nevertheless Maspero reads a considerable part of it, and it should not be impossible eventually to decipher the whole. His reading is:—

* Φλς Ση[. . .] ενδοξς κομς
 απ[α] υπ[α]τς κς [πατρ]κς
 δι . ρισ . μ[.]
 στρατηλατς βελλ . [. .]
 . . . πα βουλ . [. .]θ . [. . .
 (ιωαννης)
 monogramme.

This is valuable not merely in itself but because it confirms Maspero's tentative reading of 67151, thus showing, in the first place, that the general formula was probably fairly constant, and secondly, that where one or two recognizable letters occur and favour a reading *a priori* likely it is justifiable to adopt somewhat heroic methods in dealing with the remainder.

As regards the details of Maspero's reading, in l. 1 Κη is at least as likely to be the beginning of the name as $\Sigma\eta$. The reading after the lacuna is quite certain. In l. 2 $\acute{\alpha}\pi' \acute{\upsilon}\pi<\acute{\alpha}>\tau(\omega\tau)$ is the reading suggested by the facsimile; $\kappaς [\text{πατρ}]κς$ is quite uncertain so far as this protocol is concerned, but is supported by 67151, where $\kappa\alpha\iota \text{πατρικς}$ begins l. 2, following $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma\omicron\tauς \text{κομς}$ (Maspero; I should prefer κομης) in l. 1. It is there followed by $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\eta\mu\omega\tauς$ (Maspero $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\eta\mu\omicron\tauς$); but though $\delta\iota$ seems certain in 67316 at the beginning of l. 3, it is quite impossible to read $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\eta\mu\omega\tauς$. The traces, as seen in Maspero's facsimile, would most naturally suggest $\delta\iota(\acute{\alpha}) \mu[ε] \rho\iota\sigma\mu\omega\tauς$, if any tolerable sense could be obtained from such a phrase in this context. In 67151, where Maspero reads l. 3 $\lambda . . . \rho\omega\theta\epsilon . . . \omicron\chi\omicron\tauς$, I am inclined to read $\delta\iota$, with a certain ρ later in the line, so that very possibly the same word or combination of words occurred in both cases. The rest of l. 3 is lost in 67316, but in l. 4 $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\tauς$ is all but certain. Now in 67151 l. 4 seems, as Maspero says, to begin with $\sigma\tau\rho$, and at the end of l. 3 one might read $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma\omicron\tauς$ without much forcing of the characters. Hence $[\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma\omicron\tauς]$ may perhaps be suggested in the lacuna in l. 3 of 67316. For $\beta\epsilon\lambda\lambda$, if the facsimile can be trusted, I should prefer $\nu . . \sigma$. In l. 5, for πα βουλ , $\nu . . \text{πα βουλ}$ might equally be read, and perhaps, at need, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \text{βουλ}$, though $\kappa\alpha$ is difficult. In l. 6, which is a very short line, Maspero, if I understand him aright, takes the characters as a monogram of Ἰωάννης . It seems much more likely that the monogram is Ἰνδ(ε)τίονος ; the number might be α .

From the foregoing some general conclusions at all events can be drawn. The ϕ which regularly begins l. 1 of the perpendicular writing, even down to Arab times, is, as seemed probable from the first, the beginning of $\Phi\lambda\alpha\iota\acute{\upsilon}\sigma$, not of $\Phi\pi\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\omega\tau\iota\varsigma$ (the supposed place of manufacture), as Karabacek conjectured. This incidentally confirms the supposition that in the Arab period the perpendicular writing was meaningless; for the *comes sacrarum largitionum* would certainly not be named in a protocol containing the Mahommedan formulae, and the only names which ever occur in the legible portions are those of the Khalif and the Governor, which were of course Arabic.

Secondly, the apparent β or $\iota\zeta$ which in the majority of cases ends l. 1, both in Arab and Byzantine times, is the τ of $\kappa\omicron\mu\eta\tau$ ($\kappa\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau$, $\kappa\omicron\mu\eta\tau$), followed by the sign of abbreviation — that is to say, in Arab times, it is a reminiscence of it.

In l. 2 Arab protocols often have at the beginning a cartouche enclosing an η , which Karabacek in one case tried to read η (= 8) *octava*, and in one case *non* (*deus nisi Deus unus*). This is possibly a survival of the mysterious $\delta\epsilon$ of 67316, 67151. The β or $\iota\zeta$ which usually ends l. 2 may be part of $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\eta\mu\omega\tau\epsilon$ or $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\chi\omega\tau\epsilon$. In l. 3 (the last line of perpendicular writing in Arab protocols) indiction dates sometimes occur (see my 'Latin in Protocols of the Arab Period' in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, v. p. 153); in 67316 I have already suggested a date in the last line. The apparent ϵ , which nearly always ends l. 3 in Arab protocols, finds no explanation in 67316 (where the end of l. 5 is lost) or 67151.

It will be seen from the above that protocol writers seem to have kept fairly constantly to a traditional model even when the strokes they made had ceased to have any significance for them. It may further be inferred that 67316 and 67151 give Karabacek's theory of trilingual (Latin, Greek, Arabic) protocols its *coup de grâce* if that were still needed; for if the protocols were in Greek only while Egypt recognized the authority of the 'Roman' Emperor at Byzantium, Latin can hardly have been felt to be necessary under the Arab Khalif at Damascus.

H. I. BELL.

UNE RECKETTE HOMÉRIQUE.

Μίστυλλον τ' ἄρα τᾶλλα καὶ ἄμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἐπειραν.

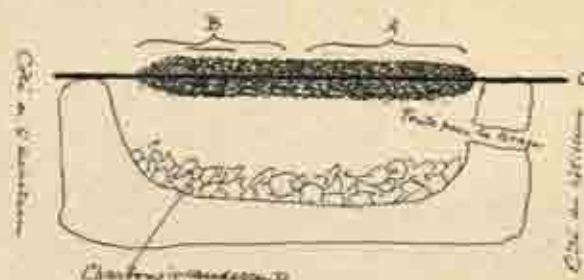
CETTE phrase, qui se retrouve avec quelques variantes cinq fois dans l'*Iliade* et cinq fois dans l'*Odyssée*, me paraît n'avoir pas été expliquée jusqu'ici d'une manière satisfaisante; il s'agit, dans tous ces passages (*Il.* i. 465, ii. 428, vii. 317, ix. 210, xxiv. 623; *Od.* iii. 463, xii. 365, xiv. 75, xiv. 431, xix. 422) d'un repas, souvent accompagné de rites religieux, ou d'un sacrifice proprement dit. Personneaux traduit *μιστύλλω* par: *diviser, couper en menus morceaux*; Lang, Leaf et Myers: *they sliced, ou cut up small, all the rest and pierced it through with spits*; ou encore: *they minced it (the ox) cunningly and pierced it through with spits*; Voss: *wohl zerstückte er das Fleisch und steckte es alles an Spiesse*; ou: *das Uebrige schnitten sie klein und steckten's an Spiesse*.

Μιστύλλω signifie hacher, couper en petits morceaux, broyer, piler; *μιστύλη*, c'est le morceau de pain creusé en cuiller pour puiser les aliments liquides ou demi-liquides. On pourrait supposer que les morceaux de viande étaient assez grands pour être embrochés à la file les uns des autres, comme des perles sur une aiguille; cependant *μιστύλλω* semble indiquer une subdivision plus fine de la viande, une sorte de hachis; la traduction exacte serait alors, si cette hypothèse est admise: ils hachèrent le reste de la viande, le fixèrent sur des broches (et le firent rôtir avec soin). Mais comment peut-on fixer de la viande hachée sur une broche, ou autour d'une broche, sans qu'elle se détache et tombe dans le feu? S'agissait-il peut-être de broches de forme spéciale? C'est peu probable, car dans *Od.* iii. 463 Homère dit qu'elles étaient *ἀκροτόροι*, ce qui semble bien indiquer de simples tiges de métal pointues; la viande subissait-elle une préparation qui rendait la masse plus consistante et l'empêchait de tomber en morceaux? Un mot employé deux fois par Homère pourrait être cité en faveur de cette hypothèse; dans *Il.* vii. 317 et *Od.* xix. 422, il dit qu'on hacha la viande *ἐπισταμένως*; à la manière de gens qui connaissent le mode de préparation; mais en quoi consistait ce procédé?

Je crois avoir trouvé la réponse à cette question dans une très intéressante observation du Docteur F. Blanchod, l'un des médecins suisses qui furent envoyés par la Croix Rouge au Maroc, en 1916, pour y visiter les prisonniers de guerre. Le Dr. Blanchod a remarqué que les cuisiniers marocains grillent en plein vent la viande hachée, agglomérée autour d'une

baguette de fer; dans une lettre qu'il a eu l'obligeance de m'adresser, il me donne les détails suivants:—

Les parties de l'animal non présentables à l'acheteur (flancs, paroi abdominale, cou, tête) sont hachées finement; la viande hachée est pétrie dans une grande jatte de terre cuite avec de la graisse, de la farine et des épices. Le rôtisseur, accroupi dans son échoppe, prend de la main gauche dans la jatte 30 grammes environ du mélange haché qu'il pétrit encore à pleine main, puis il saisit de la main droite une tige de fer de 20 centimètres de longueur environ, exactement semblable à une aiguille à tricoter; il place cette tige au milieu de la viande hachée qu'il a dans la main gauche et la tourne, en continuant à pétrir, jusqu'à ce que la tige soit entourée de viande sur la moitié A de sa longueur; puis, par l'opération répétée une seconde fois, le rôtisseur garnit la moitié B de la tige; à Rabat surtout, j'ai remarqué que tous exécutent le même rite avec une grande dextérité; le rôtisseur place



5, 10, 15 tiges garnies de viande côte à côte sur un foyer en pierre rempli de charbons incandescents; les foyers que j'ai vus étaient tous du même modèle, longs de 50 centimètres environ, larges de 20, usés et polis par le temps; placés toujours face à l'acheteur, devant le rôtisseur accroupi qui surveille ses tiges, les tournant par l'extrémité C entre le pouce et l'index (*ὀρνισαύτε περιφραδέως*, *Il*, vii, 317, etc.); souvent la graisse coule sur les charbons et s'enflamme, mais la viande est agglomérée de telle façon que jamais elle ne se détache de la brochette; les tiges, une fois à point, sont tirées à l'extrémité du foyer où il n'y a pas de charbons, mais où la chaleur de la pierre chauffée les maintient à une température favorable; les clients, qui passent d'une échoppe à l'autre, choisissent les tiges les plus appétissantes, les mangent sur place et rendent la baguette au marchand.

Le croquis ci-joint montre la disposition du foyer.

La description si claire et si complète du Docteur Blanchod prouve qu'on peut fort bien rôtir sur une broche de la viande hachée, à la condition de lui faire subir préalablement une certaine préparation. Une objection se présente à l'esprit: pourquoi se servir de broches pointues (*Od.* iii, 463) puisque la viande était, non pas transpercée par l'instrument mais agglomérée tout autour? L'explication me paraît bien simple: le rôtisseur homérique, qui opérait avec un grand feu, ne pouvait pas employer une petite broche spéciale comme celle du marocain; il se servait de la grande broche

ordinaire qu'il tenait à la main : ἀκροπόρους ὀβελοὺς ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες (*Od.* iii. 463).

J'ai laissé de côté *Od.* xiv. 75; la préparation du repas y est décrite d'une façon si incomplète qu'on ne peut, me semble-t-il, en tirer aucune conclusion.

Je ne pense pas, d'ailleurs, que toute la viande était hachée; l'animal était dépescé (διαχέω, τέμνω); certains morceaux étaient rôtis séparément et le reste était préparé comme je l'ai décrit ci-dessus.

Encore un petit détail: Homère dit, dans divers passages, que les convives mangèrent les entrailles, ou viscères (σπλάγχν' ἐπάσαντα, ἐπὶ ὥπτιον ἔγκατα πάντα) fixés sur des broches (σπλάγχνα ἀμπεύαντες) et rôtis sur le feu (ὑπείρεχον Ἡφαίστειο); voici comment j'ai vu cuire à Marathon l'intestin d'un agneau rôti en plein vent sur un brasier de sarments: le cuisinier coupe l'intestin près de l'estomac et l'enlève en le déroulant dans toute sa longueur; puis, au moyen d'un entonnoir, il fait couler de l'eau à l'intérieur; après ce nettoyage sommaire, l'intestin est enroulé autour d'une longue broche, comme un fil sur une bobine, aspergé de sel et placé sur le brasier dès que le bois a cessé de brûler: ἐπεὶ κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλόξ ἑμαράνθη; quand l'intestin est bien grillé, on retire la broche et l'on divise en tranches le mets ainsi préparé: il est sec, croquant, de couleur brune et de goût fort agréable. Les viscères grillés étaient les hors-d'œuvre des festins homériques; on les mangeait pendant la préparation du reste du repas.

J. KESER, M.D.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE MAPS ATTACHED TO PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY.

I.

THE scientific treatment of the Geography of Ptolemy (Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις) had made considerable progress during the last century, so that it seemed as if this work had been brought at least to a provisory issue. An edition arranged according to the demands of science and, as was to be desired, an edition that could be called final had not yet been produced, but there was reason to believe that the edition undertaken by the well-known editor C. Mueller in the great *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum*, published by Firmin Didot in Paris, would come up to these expectations. However, owing to his death in 1893 it has remained unfinished. After Part I. had appeared in 1883, C. Th. Fischer, to whom the continuation of the work was entrusted, was able in 1901 to publish Part II., which had been found almost ready for the press among the literary remains of the deceased. Thus of the eight books of the Ptolemaean geography the five first are at present published, but no continuation has as yet been heard of.¹ This edition is the result of extensive labours on the part of C. Mueller. The text is founded on a much wider and better textual apparatus than any of the earlier ones, and the different readings of the manuscripts are largely set forth. Besides, at the foot of the text is an extensive commentary, in which the statements of Ptolemy are examined and an attempt is made to identify as many of the names of localities and peoples as possible. It is, however, somewhat difficult now to estimate the value of Mueller's work, as his promised long introduction has not appeared and consequently it is also impossible to come to any certain conclusion concerning his principles as to the arrangement of the text. Nevertheless, after a closer examination of this edition, it must be stated that it does not justify all the expectations built upon it as a final edition of Ptolemy. Mueller certainly endeavoured to render the text in as pure and original a form as possible by comparing the different readings of the MSS. and selecting the best ones, but his ardent desire to identify the localities led him to attempt to emend the text by conjectures founded upon other geographical reports or actual facts—even in

¹ Cf. H. Wagner, *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, 1913, p. 767.

cases where the MSS. do not support any alterations, their testimony being in fact identical and even confirmed by the maps attached to the MSS.²

But even though it has been considered that the text is now, as far as Mueller has handled it, in a fairly satisfactory condition, yet critical research has lately taken a new turn, since more attention has been directed to the maps contained in the Greek MSS. It had indeed long been known that there existed maps attached to some of the MSS., but there prevailed doubts as to whether those maps were an integral part of the original work or whether they were of a later date, perhaps of the time of the Renaissance. The more so, as the Latin translations contained maps drawn by different persons, but particularly by Donnus Nicolaus Germanus, known in the earlier literature by the name of Nicolaus Donis, these maps having been taken as a basis for the earliest printed editions.³ The facsimile-edition of the MS. of the Geography of Ptolemy, preserved in the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos (the Codex Athous), which was published with its maps by P. de Sévastianoff and V. Langlois in Paris, 1867, was considered rather important, but turned out however to be of little consequence for the research; the fact is, indeed, that it is no first-rate facsimile-edition,⁴ and that the MS. used for it seems to be of no great value. C. Mueller's contemporary remark on the existence of two different sets of maps⁵ remained quite unnoticed, as well as the fact that the Burney MS. 111 with its sixty-six maps was mentioned in the catalogue of maps in the British Museum, published as early as 1844.⁶ Shortly before his death, the famous explorer, Baron A. E. Nordenskiöld, had evidently begun to pay attention to the maps in the Greek MSS. of the Geography of Ptolemy, but death interrupted his work when it had hardly been begun. About the same time, Dr. L. Jelić (in Zara) published a facsimile reproduction of one map from the till then unnoticed Codex Urbinas graecus 82 in the Vatican Library, by which he brought this MS. particularly into notice.⁷ Not however till lately has a greater interest been taken in the maps. Quite independently of each other, the Librarian Dr. P. Dinse (in Kiel), and Professor Father J. Fischer, S.J. (in Feldkirch), had begun to examine the manuscript maps of the Ptolemaean geography, first the Latin and then the Greek, from which the former are derived. The attention of students was especially aroused by a lecture

² One instance: to the north-east of the coast of Egypt the site of *Oxyrhynchus* and *Προκρούσιον* is, according to the MSS., $\{ \beta \tau' - \alpha \alpha' \zeta \}$ (except Cod. Vatin. 191, $\alpha \alpha' \zeta'$) and $\{ \beta \gamma \theta' - \alpha \alpha' \zeta \}$; but Mueller, relying on the *editio princeps* and on the actual situation of the localities, demands in both cases the reading $\alpha \alpha' \tau'$ (Ptol. iv. 5, 6). The maps here support the reading of the MSS.

³ A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile Atlas*, 1889, pp. 9-10; J. Fischer, *Verhandlungen d. XVIII. deutschen Geographentages*, 1912, p. 227.

⁴ J. Fischer, *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 60:

1, 1914, p. 295.

⁵ *Rapport sur les manuscrits de la géographie de Ptolémée* [Arch. des Missions scientifiques, 2 Série, 4 Tome, 1867], pp. 297-298.

⁶ *Catalogue of the Manuscript Maps, Charts, and Plans, and of the Topographical Drawings, in the British Museum*, i. 1844, pp. 3-5.

⁷ *Das älteste kartographische Denkmal über die römische Provinz Dalmatien* (Wissenschaft. Mitth. aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina, vii. 1906), pp. 167-214.

delivered by J. Fischer in 1912 at the Géographical Congress in Innsbruck, in which he emphasized the existence of the two different sets of maps, *i.e.* that besides the collection of twenty-seven maps, already well known from the Latin editions, there existed another set, in which the number of maps was more than doubled.⁸ Later on P. Dinse treated extensively the question of the value and the origin of the maps, in two lectures delivered in 1913, the one at the Congress of German Librarians in Mainz,⁹ the other before the Geographical Society in Berlin.¹⁰

These researches have shown that the number of Greek MSS. supplied with maps is thirteen, of which, however, only eight are ancient and independent enough to be of importance for the investigation of the maps.¹¹ Four of these (Class A) represent the set of maps known of old, which comprises twenty-six special maps and one map of the world. They are: the Codex Urbinas gr. 82, 13th cent. (Rome), the Codex Hafniensis Fabritius gr. (fragm.), 13th cent. (Copenhagen), the Codex Athous, 13th cent., second half, the Codex Marcianus gr. 506, 15th cent. (Venice). The remaining four (Class B), which are the Codex Laurentianus xxviii 49, 14th cent. (Florence), the Codex Mediolanensis gr. 527, 14th cent. (Milan), the Codex Constantinopolitanus, 14th-15th cent., and the Codex Londinensis (Burney MS. III), 14th cent., contain a greater number of maps, *viz.* sixty-four special maps¹² and in addition either one universal map (Codd. Laur. and Lond.) or four maps of the continents (*i.e.* Europa, Africa, Asia Septentrionalis, and Asia Australis) (Cod. Const.¹³). The sixty-four special maps correspond to the maps in Class A in such a way that some of them are identical in both groups (*e.g.*, Germania, Italia, Sarmatia), while sometimes two, three, or even four maps in Class B correspond to one map in Class A. Thus Hibernia and Albion in Class A are on one map, in Class B on two separate maps; and in the same manner in Class B Hispania is on three, Gallia on four maps, etc. In Class B the maps do not form, as they do in Class A, a special appendix at the end of the MSS.: they are instead inserted in their proper places in the text, as a rule at the end of the description of a province. The scale of the maps also varies more than in Class A. Generally the features of the maps are exactly identical in both classes, but certain dissimilarities exist, some in the names, others in the features themselves; *e.g.*, in Class A Scotland is of the same length as England, in Class B only

⁸ *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Ptolemäus-Karten* (Verh. d. XVIII deutschen Geographentages, 1912, pp. 224-230), and *Petermanns Mitt.* 58: 2, 1912, pp. 61-631.

⁹ *Die handschriftlichen Ptolemäus-Karten und ihre Entwicklung im Zeitalter der Renaissance* (Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen, xxx, 1913, pp. 379-403).

¹⁰ *Die handschriftlichen Ptolemäus-Karten und die Agathodämonfrage* (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin, 1913), pp. 745-762.

¹¹ *Zeitschrift f. Bibl.wesen*, xxx, 1913, p. 383. G. Schütte, *Ptolemy's Atlas: a Study of its Sources* (Scott. Geogr. Mag. xxx, 1914), p. 60, has added the eighth (fragmentary) MS. preserved in Copenhagen.

¹² Not 63, as Dinse says (*Zeitschrift f. Bibl.wesen*, xxx, 1913, p. 384).

¹³ It does not appear clearly whether Codex Mediolanensis has both a map of the world and maps of the continents; but at any rate it has the maps of the continents. (Cf. J. Fischer, *Petermanns Mitt.* 60: 2, 1914, p. 287.)

half as long.¹⁴ How important these differences are is of course difficult to decide without comparing the entire material.

The earlier uncertainty as to the age of the maps of the Ptolemaean Geography is now much diminished. Especially Jelić,¹⁵ and later Dimse¹⁶ and Schütte,¹⁷ have clearly pointed out the evidently very old characteristics of these ancient maps, comparing them with the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, with the Madaba-mosaic representing the map of Palestine,¹⁸ and with the pictures of Provinces in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. They particularly note the marks for the towns, being square cartouches representing walls with battlements, or at more important places drawings of walls with gates and with three or even five towers. The question, however, whether these maps are really derived from maps attached to Ptolemy's original text, or whether they are of a somewhat later date, has as yet found no answer universally accepted: on the contrary, the opinions are entirely antagonistic. This question is indeed very complicated, and there are arguments for and against that well deserve notice. The debate is chiefly concentrated on the following points: (1) the aim of Ptolemy's work; (2) the *Agathodaemon* subscription.

I. In Book I. of his Geography Ptolemy declares that he wants above all to lay down a guide to map-drawing on a purely mathematical and astronomical basis. He consequently begins by giving an account of the art of projection, according to which the maps are to be drawn, at the same time criticising the work of his predecessors, especially that of the Tyrian Marinus. Then follow Books II.-VII., containing long lists of the localities, defined according to their longitude and latitude. In Book VIII. the author finally explains how by aid of the most surely determined points—at least some of them astronomically fixed—the known world can conveniently be drawn on twenty-six maps.¹⁹ Concerning the nature of his work Ptolemy remarks²⁰ that maps are often spoilt and distorted in the hands of the copyist, and that the form he has chosen—i.e., a list—warrants a greater durability to his work. Relying on Ptolemy's own words, many investigators²¹ have held the view that originally no maps belonged to the work. This view has been maintained in the present discussion especially by Prof. K. Kretschmer,²² and his opinion is shared also by Dr. A. Herrmann.²³ On the

¹⁴ Cf. Schütte, *Scott. Geogr. Mag.* xxx, 1914, p. 60, where the more important differences are enumerated.

¹⁵ *Mit. aus Bannica u. Hercegovina*, vii, 1900, pp. 172-173.

¹⁶ *Zentr. M. f. Bild.wiss.*, xxx, 1913, p. 289.

¹⁷ *Scott. Geogr. Mag.* xxx, 1914, pp. 58-59: a complete list of identities and similarities.

¹⁸ Cf. *Compte Rendu de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, xxv, 1897, p. 140; Schmiten, *Abhandl. d. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N. F. iv, 2, 1900, Pl. I.

¹⁹ viii, 1-2.

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²⁰ i, 18, 2: τὸ τε γὰρ αὐτὸ παραμένει ἀπὸ τῶν πορίστων παρασκευάσας διὰ τῆς ὁρέου διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀμφὲς παρακλῆτος εἰς ἀπόλογον εὐδαιμονίας ἀναμάρτητος τὸς μεταβάλλει.

²¹ For instance: H. Kiepert, *Lehrbuch d. alten Geographie* (1878), p. 19; H. Berger, *Geschichte d. wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde d. Griechen*, iv, p. 187, etc.; H. Zondervan, *Algemeene Kartoukunde* (1901), pp. 15-16.

²² *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.*, 1913, pp. 767-768; *Petermanns Mit.*, 60: 1, 1914, pp. 142-143.

²³ *Marinus, Ptolemäus und ihre Karten* (*Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.*, 1914), p. 783.

other hand, it has been remarked that the text without the maps—and likewise a later origin of the maps—is hardly conceivable. Dinse maintains at great length that the maps necessarily must have belonged to the original edition.²² He considers it absolutely impossible, even for a modern skilled designer, to draw maps that could be satisfactory in any degree merely on the basis of Ptolemy's text; and, besides, he regards it as quite obvious that Ptolemy must have drawn the maps himself before he wrote his long lists in Books II.-VII. of the Geography. The fact that the greater part of the MSS. still existing have no maps does not conflict with this hypothesis, as the drawing of maps was generally more expensive than the copying of ordinary text; thus it is to be assumed that there were many more copies in circulation without maps than complete MSS. with maps. The last assertion is of course true, but does not prove anything. As to the other point, it is a matter of course that Ptolemy, when he made his catalogues, had before him his own maps, purged of the faults of his foregoers, and surely this is in no way inconsistent with his own statement, that he performed his task with the intention of correcting the faults found in the maps of his immediate predecessor, Marinus.²⁴ Nor has this been denied. But it does not follow from this that the final edition issued for the public contained maps. Ptolemy's own words in Book I. seem to point in the contrary direction. Again, as to the assertion that it would have been impossible to draw maps later on the sole basis of Ptolemy's text, this seems not to hold good either. For there existed maps, superior and inferior, and especially Marinus's maps, of which many editions had appeared, seem to have been universally known, so that with their help, and by following the hints given by Ptolemy, it ought to have been possible to design maps according to his scheme.²⁵

2. At the end of some MSS. there is the subscription *ἐκ τῶν Κλαυδίου Πτολεμαίου γεωγραφικῶν βιβλίων ὁκτώ τήν οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων (vel Ἀγαθοδαίμων) Ἀλεξανδρεὺς μηχανικὸς ὑπετίπωσε*. This subscription is to be found in at least the following codices: Codd. Parisini 1401 and 1402, Codex Venetus 383, Codex Vindobonensis 1,²⁶ and Codex Urbinas gr. 82,²⁷ and possibly also in others.²⁸ The meaning of this subscription has been understood in different ways. Earlier it was the general opinion that the subscription was clear evidence that the maps were not Ptolemy's work, and as it was known that some of the letters of Isidorus of Pelusium are addressed to a grammarian by name Agathodaemon, the opinion was pronounced that both Agathodaemons were the same person, and that consequently the maps dated from the 5th cent.²⁹ There is,

²² *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.* 1913, pp. 754-756; *Zentr. Bl. f. Bibliotheksw.*, xxx, 1913, pp. 380-393.

²³ Cf. Kreisshner, *Petermanns Mit.* 60: 1, 1914, p. 142.

²⁴ Cf. Herrmann, *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.* 1914, p. 784.

²⁵ Berger, *Agathodaemon* (Pauly-Wissowa,

i. 1894), p. 747.

²⁶ Jellö, *Mit. aus Bosnien u. der Herzegovina*, vii. 1900, p. 172, Pl. V.

²⁷ Dinse, *Zentr. Bl. f. Bibliotheksw.*, xxx, 1913, p. 391, n. 1.

²⁸ Cf. J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca* (1798), iii. p. 412.

however, no proof of this identification; on the contrary, it is anything but probable. Nevertheless Kretschmer, for instance, decidedly holds the view that the author of the maps is Agathodaemon, not Ptolemy.²⁰ Dinse, on the other hand, who regards the maps as belonging to the original work and alleges both sets of maps to have been made by Ptolemy—a matter we shall recur to later—has invented an ingenious theory that Agathodaemon was the man who transferred not only the maps but the whole work from the roll of papyrus to a parchment codex of the usual form, and who thus became an intermediary for preserving this precious book to our days.²¹ It is of course possible that such a work was once performed, as was certainly the case with regard to the earlier classical literature, but in this instance there is no absolute necessity to presume it. At least the existence of codices of papyrus as early as the 2nd cent. A.D., the time when Ptolemy worked, seems to be a positive fact²²; thus the archetype can quite well be supposed to have been written in the form of a codex. Certainly the hypothesis of Dinse is in no way supported by the words by which Agathodaemon's work is accounted for; on the contrary, they imply that it was of a different and much more independent character. Lately J. Fischer has announced that the study of the Codex Urbinae gr. 82 has convinced him that Agathodaemon only drew the map of the world, which according to him is of a later date, while the other maps are originally Ptolemaean.²³

II.

The Nordenskiöld Library is a most valuable collection especially of works concerning ancient and mediaeval geography and the history of cartography, which the late Baron A. E. Nordenskiöld, the famous explorer, a Finn by birth, had brought together, and which after his death in 1901 was, in accordance with the wish of the deceased, purchased by the University in Helsingfors and is now preserved in the University Library there. It contains a series of negatives of a set of Ptolemy's maps taken on behalf of Nordenskiöld by Dr. F. R. Martin (a well-known expert in Oriental carpets and handiwork) from the MS. kept in the Old Seraglio of Pers in Constantinople (the Codex Constantinopolitanus). Considering that Nordenskiöld's interest during his last days was especially concentrated on this MS. and above all on its maps, it has been thought desirable at least in so far to continue his work as to publish the maps. Very few maps belonging to the MSS. of Ptolemy's Geography have as yet been published in facsimile; a complete facsimile edition exists only of the Codex Athous. This MS. however is defective and its maps not very good; the reproduction too is

²⁰ *Petermanns Mitt.* 60: 1, 1914, p. 143.

²¹ *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.* 1913, pp. 750-761; *Zeitsch. f. Bibl.wiss.*, xxx. 1913, pp. 394-397.

²² *Gesch. Pap.* ii, p. 2; Serruys, *Revue de Philologie*, xxxiv. 1910, p. 102; Gardthausen, *Griech. Paläogr.* 21, pp. 156-157.

²³ *Petermanns Mitt.* 60: 2, 1914, p. 287.

rather unsatisfactory. Some facsimiles of separate maps are also published.²⁴ Indeed a facsimile of Codex Urbinas gr. 82 is at present in preparation by J. Fischer; but of course research will merely profit by the publication of more MSS. with maps. Besides, this Codex Constantinopolitanus represents a class other than that of which one facsimile has been published (Codex Athous), and another is in preparation (Codex Urbinas gr. 82). In the expectation that the publication of the maps of this MS. will in due time be possible, I have endeavoured to do some preparatory work. On examining the material I have been struck by certain particulars, which seem to me of such a nature that I have thought it appropriate to call the attention of students to them and to present certain conjectures based upon them, though these conjectures are merely hypotheses, to be confirmed only by a comparison—at present impossible—between the maps of Codex Constantinopolitanus and those of the other MSS.

The MS. in question, Codex Constantinopolitanus chartaceus,²⁵ most probably dates from the end of the 14th cent. or possibly from the beginning of the 15th. Besides Ptolemy's Geography, the same volume contains some leaves with parts of the geographical poem of Dionysius the Periegeta. Of the Geography of Ptolemy there are eighty-eight leaves written on both sides, size 41 x 29 cm. The text is drawn in black, the ornamental capital letters illuminated in red. The maps are coloured in such a manner that the sea is green, the mountains brown, and the cartouches of the towns red; so also some designs representing altars, temples, etc. Particularly beautiful—decorated with flags—are the drawings of Rome, Jerusalem, etc. As above mentioned, this MS. of the Ptolemaean Geography belongs to the same class as Codex Laurentianus xxviii. 49 (C. Mueller's Ω), Codex Mediolanensis gr. 527 (C. Mueller's S), and Codex Londinensis (Burney MS. 111), the peculiarity of which is the great number of special maps, i.e. 64. Besides these the Codex Constantinopolitanus contains also 4 maps of the continents. Codex Constantinopolitanus has not been preserved quite complete, the entire First Book is missing, as is the leaf on which was the map of Peloponnesus. Seemingly Book VIII. is also wanting, but as a matter of fact the list of places, which is usually contained in this Book, is scattered over Books II–VII. at the end of the lists of localities of the respective provinces. Without any closer examination of the MS. this extension of the text in these Books has by earlier writers been accounted for as a supplement added in conformity with the demands of a later period.²⁶

²⁴ They are, as far as I know: From Codex Urbinas gr. 82: Rhætia-Ilyria (Jellic, *Mitt. aus Börsen u. der Hercegarina*, vii. 1900, Pl. V.), Germania (Schütte, *Geograph. Tidsskrift*, xxiii. 1916, p. 259, Fig. II.1, Dacia (Schütte, *ibid.* p. 262, Fig. VIa). From Codex Londinensis (Burney MS. 111): Germania (Schütte, *Scott. Geogr. Mag.* xxx. 1914, p. 297, Fig. 4). From Codex Constantinopolitanus: the continent map of Northern Asia, western

part (Bagrov, *Materials for the History of the Map of the Caspian Sea* [Russ.] 1912, p. 14, Fig. 8, and *Ancient Maps of the Black Sea* [Russ.] 1914, Pl. 31.

²⁵ Cf. Blass, *Hermes*, xxiii. 1888, pp. 219–220, Nr. 27.

²⁶ E. Abel, *Litterarische Berichte aus Ungarn*, ii. 1878, p. 267; Blass, *Hermes* xxiii. 1888, p. 223.

At first sight the maps of this MS. make a pleasing impression. The outlines of the countries are generally very carefully and conscientiously designed; the same is to be said of the mountains. As to the rivers, it is difficult to say anything without comparing with other MSS. The cartouches denoting towns and villages, beside which the names are written, are generally placed so that they approximately agree with the indications of the text. Still, the precision with which the strict position of each place in Codex Urbinas gr. 82 is marked (with a dot inside the cartouche) is here missing. Even certain deviations from the text of the MS. are to be found, and the reason is partly that, the space being limited on a map drawn on a comparatively small scale, the figures had to be transferred, partly mere carelessness either in the drawing in *this* copy or at some earlier stage. Similar peculiarities are also to be found in Codex Athous, indeed to a much larger degree; it is for instance simply typical for this MS. that the cartouches of the towns are placed in long rows, which only slightly recall the indications of the text and the disposition of the localities in the better MSS. Of course a general verdict on the maps of Codex Constantinopolitanus is of little value as long as they have not been compared with other maps, especially with those belonging to Class B.

On making, in view of the contemplated publication of these maps, a list of all the names in the form in which they occur in this MS. I had above all to observe that their writing was often influenced by the later Greek pronunciation, so that they differed from the orthographic form originally used by the author. This circumstance is of course quite intelligible and natural, and requires no special notice in this connexion. But here and there appear certain peculiarities of another nature, which are, as far as I can see, worthy of notice.

1. In Ptolemy's text the position of the rivers is generally not given more exactly than by defining the position of their mouths with the words αἱ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ δέινης ἐκβολαί. Only comparatively seldom other indications are added concerning the place of the sources of the river, of its chief windings, the mouths of its tributaries, etc. In the text the names of the rivers are consequently mostly in the *genitive* case. On the maps, however, as is to be expected, the names of the rivers appear as such, without any additions, i.e. in the *nominative* case. But I have noted four or five exceptions to this rule. Thus we have: (i) on the map of Albion: Λόγγου ποτ. ἐκβολή (= Λόγγου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί) (Ptol. ii. 3, 1); (ii) on the map of Sicily: Ἐλικῶνος ποτ. (the name of the river is Ἐλικῶν) (Ptol. iii. 4, 2); (iii) moreover, on the same map: Ἀκιθίου ποτ. pro Ἀκιθίος ποτ. (Ptol. iii. 4, 3); (iv) on the map of Libya Interior: Δάραδος ποτ. pro Δάρας ποτ. (Ptol. iv. 6, 2). Θανάμις ποτ., occurring on the map of Epirus (Ptol. iii. 13, 3), must be considered somewhat uncertain; it may be a copyist's error for Θάμις ποτ., but it can also mean the *genitive* form Θανάμιος ποταμοῦ. In these instances the *genitive*, conveying no sense on the map, seems to be erroneously copied from the text, where it is correct.

2. When Ptolemy enumerates the towns and other places of some

province, he generally uses some prefatory words, such as 'πόλεις δὲ εἰσι μεσόγειοι αἰδε,' '[Δαμόνιοι] ἐν οἷς πόλεις αἰδε,' 'πόλεις δὲ εἰσιν ἐν τῇ [Οὐινδελικίᾳ]' and so on. In these cases the names in the list following the preamble are of course in the nominative. In the text concerning Italy another kind of construction occurs twice; the author writes: ἡ μὲν οὖν Λαγουρία . . . ἔχει μεσογείους πόλεις (Ptol. iii. 1. 41), and ἡ δὲ Γαλλία ἡ Τογάτα . . . ἔχει πόλεις τὰςδε (Ptol. iii. 1. 42), and then the names of places, needless to say, follow in the accusative. Of such names there are eighteen, of which five are here of no account, being neuters that have no special accusative form. Now on the map of Italy in Codex Constantinopolitanus, eight (or nine) of the remaining thirteen are altered to the nominative quite as it ought to be, but four recur in the accusative; those are: ἄλβαν πομπῆα (= Ἄλβαν Πομπηίαν), Πάρμαν, μάτιαν (= Μούτιαν), and κάσαιναν (= Καίσηραν), to which possibly Λίβαρρον should be added, as it is evidently to be read Λίβαρραν (nom. Λίβαρνα).¹⁷

3. On the map representing Asia Minor we find the nation ἐρίζηνοι μιονίας. In the normalised context of Ptolemy the corresponding words are as follows: (Ptol. v. 2. 15) Καρίας δὲ . . . καὶ δῆμος πρὸς τῇ Φρυγίᾳ Ἐρίζηνοί (the MSS. Ἐρίζηλοι); (16) Μαιονίας ἐν μεθωρίοις Μυσίας καὶ Ἀνδίας καὶ Φρυγίας Σαίττας κ.τ.λ. (towns enumerated). Only from a MS. without any punctuation marks can a mistake like this have slipped into the map.

4. On the map of Macedonia appear the names Ἀμφαξιτιδες and Φθιώτιδες. In the text the corresponding forms are the genitives Ἀμφαξιτιδος (Ptol. iii. 12. 11) and Φθιώτιδος (Ptol. iii. 12. 14), which consequently on the map ought to have been Ἀμφαξιτίς and Φθιώτις.

5. On several maps of Asia and even on some of Africa we find certain short notes from the text added to the names. Sometimes a name of a nation is followed by the attribute μέγα ἔθνος, e.g. Ἀφρικέωντες μέγα ἔθνος (Libya Interior, Ptol. iv. 6. 6), Μιναῖοι μέγα ἔθνος (Arabia Felix, Ptol. vi. 7. 23), Τόχαροι μέγα ἔθνος (Bactriana, Ptol. vi. 11. 6), etc. In other cases larger descriptive extracts of a different nature are lent from the text and joined to the names. As examples may serve: Ἀζανία χώρα ἐν εἰς (= ἡ) πλείστοι ἐλέφαντες (Aethiopia infra Aegyptum, Ptol. iv. 7. 10), Σελήνης ὄρος ἀφ' οὗ ὑποδέχονται τὰς χιόνας αἱ τοῦ Νεαίου λίμναι (ibid. and Aethiopia Interior, Ptol. iv. 8. 2). Especially there are many such examples on the maps of both Indias: Κῶσα ἐν ἡ ἁδάμας (Ptol. vii. 1. 65), Σαβάραι παρ' οἷς ἐστὶ πλείστοι ἁδάμας (Ptol. vii. 1. 80), [Κίρρα]δία χώρα ἐν ἡ κάλλιστον μαλάβαθρον (Ptol. vii. 2. 16), Χρυσὴ χώρα ἐν ἡ πλείστα μέταλλα χρυσοῦ (Ptol. vii. 2. 17), [Τίλα]δαί ο[ἱ] καὶ Βησαδάμοι ο[ἱ] εἰσι δασεῖς, κολοβοὶ καὶ πλατυπρόσωποι (Ptol. vii. 2. 15), to mention some instances.

¹⁷ Cf. Ptolemaei Geographia, ed. C. Mueller, I. 1, 1883, p. 345: the names Libarna and Libarnum occur both in Roman inscriptions and authors, but Mueller chooses for his text

the form Λίβαρραν, occurring in the majority of MSS., though the form Λίβαρρον appears in the excellent Codex Vaticanus gr. 191.

These strange deviations from the general nature of the nomenclature of the maps, in so far as instead of a nominative form a genitive is by chance found on the map in the wrong place, or the genitive of the text is wrongly changed, or additions have been made after the names themselves, can as far as I can see be explained only in two ways. Either a copyist has first copied the maps without writing down the names from the model maps, and on finishing his work by adding the names taken them from the text, not from the model maps. In that case he has been able partly to change the names into the form required, partly to avoid additions that do not strictly belong to the names, but sometimes he has by mistake or negligence allowed the names to slip into the map unchanged, or changed them in a wrong way, or he has mechanically written on the map more from the text than would actually have been necessary. Or else the maps did not originally belong to the text, but some draughtsman has later on traced the maps and has then not been always careful enough to avoid the faults and inconsistencies above mentioned. This latter supposition seems to be preferable. On account of the present situation caused by the war, I have had no opportunity of comparing as to these points the Codex Constantinopolitanus with other MSS., only the facsimile-edition of the Codex Athous being at my disposal. But though this MS. (or at least the facsimile-edition) is very unsatisfactory as such, and especially its maps are often difficult to decipher, and besides the names on them are frequently abbreviated, I have been able to establish the fact that the same exceptional forms partly occur on it. Here it is of less importance that the additions mentioned in paragraph 5 recur, as they can be held to be of a somewhat different nature; the fact is that they affect less known countries, concerning which Ptolemy himself in his text has somewhat deviated from the dull form of mere enumeration without any illustrative attributes; thus the additions taken from the text seem in this case to be easier to account for; also these additions reappear even in the maps appended to the earlier printed editions. Of more consequence is it that some of the accusative forms on the maps of Italy mentioned above in paragraph 2 recur in Codex Athous; they are *Ἰταλίας Πομπηίας, Αἰθαρίας, Πάρμας, Μούτιναι*; others I have not been able to make out.

Now, as Codex Constantinopolitanus belongs to Class B and Codex Athous to Class A, these mistakes must have appeared in the maps very early, before the two sets of maps were separated, for of course it does not seem probable that such a remarkable fault should have found its way twice into the maps. As to the suppositions above mentioned concerning the origin of these faults, I have already pointed out that the former of them seems less probable. One might perhaps suppose that some copyist might really have checked the maps that he had designed, according to the text, but it seems highly improbable that, in copying the maps, he should not also have immediately marked the names from the model maps at the same time, as for instance, he marked in the margin the figures of longitude and latitude, the places of parallels, etc.; thus it is not very probable that

the errors and deviations in question could have originated in that way, however mechanical the supposed control might have been.

Consequently, if it is not to be supposed that these peculiarities slipped into the maps later, after the archetype of the maps had been finished, on the other hand it is in no way probable that this sort of irregularities and faults would appear in these maps if they had been made on Ptolemy's own initiative and if published by him. They would then, no doubt, have been in a blameless state, at least originally. Thus there seems not to be any other way of explaining the matter than that the maps have been added to the original text later. Then also the much debated question, why the maps are in equidistant cylindrical projection, though Ptolemy himself recommends the conical projection as scientifically more correct, is cleared up. There were older maps drawn in the former projection, and thus the draughtsman who designed the maps for the Ptolemaean geography and to whom these maps were familiar simply employed the same projection, a procedure not equally easy to believe on the hypothesis that the maps were designed under Ptolemy's own guidance, although Dinse and others seem to find such an inconsequence quite natural.³⁸ The final conclusion is, consequently, that the conception grounded on Ptolemy's own words, that the *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* was originally published without maps, is supported by the maps themselves.

The date of the origin of the maps is, at least at present, difficult to define. The comparisons with extant antique maps, made by Jelic, Dinse, and Schütte,³⁹ do not prove anything with certainty except that the maps added to the Geography of Ptolemy have been handed down from antiquity, but any preciser date they do not seem to give, as the possibilities extend over several centuries, the Madaba-map for instance dating from the 6th century.

III.

If we have thus shown that the maps preserved in the MSS. are of later date than Ptolemy's text, and designed by someone else, we still have to deal with the question of the relationship between Class A (twenty-six maps) and Class B (sixty-four maps). When at the Geographical Congress of Innsbruck J. Fischer's first communication gave rise to discussion, Prof. E. v. Wieser⁴⁰ expressed the opinion that the additional maps of Class B unquestionably derived their origin from the epoch of the Renaissance, bearing thus no relation to the original Ptolemaean maps of Class A, and on the same occasion Prof. E. Oberhummer⁴¹ considered that they were added in the Middle Ages; but these utterances were merely due to an insufficient acquaintance with the subject, for as a matter of fact there can be no question of real additions. Dinse⁴² has at great length expounded a

³⁸ *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.* 1913, pp. 757-758.

³⁹ See p. 65.

⁴⁰ *Verh. d. XVIII. deutschen Geographentages*, 1912, p. xxxvii.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. xxxviii.

⁴² *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.* 1913, p. 759-761; *Zentr. Bl. f. Bibliotheksw.*, xxx. 1913, pp. 292-295.

hypothesis that Ptolemy left two different text-editions, to which the different groups of maps belonged, in such a manner that Class B would represent the earlier edition and Class A the edition finally approved of by Ptolemy; and this opinion is also maintained by J. Fischer. Besides the fact that they consider both groups to be original parts of Ptolemy's work, Dinse moreover, in support of his assertion, insists that even the texts of both classes differ to a certain degree. I do not wish to underrate the existing divergencies, which are quite obvious, as is shown by Mueller's edition. But the greatest difference still seems to be that in Class B the greater part of Book VIII., the list of names of localities, is scattered about and joined to the end of the descriptions of provinces in the preceding Books. As regards Codex Constantinopolitanus this is a settled fact, but as Mueller's edition mentions that in Codex Laurentianus xxviii. 49 and in Codex Mediolanensis gr. 527 after the descriptions of Arabia Petraea and Mesopotamia there are added, besides the map, also the corresponding parts from Book VIII.,⁴² it seems evident that in these MSS. also Book VIII. has been divided in the same manner as in the Codex Constantinopolitanus.⁴³ It is true that Dinse believes that this is the earlier form dating from the time when the author had not yet united the great number of maps of provinces to the twenty-six maps of countries. When uniting them he did, according to Dinse, simultaneously separate the more reliable topographical notices serving as a basis for these twenty-six maps, as an Eighth Book.⁴⁴ As far, however, as can be concluded from Codex Constantinopolitanus, this explanation does not hold good. As has already been mentioned,⁴⁵ Book VIII. is chiefly an account of the best method of drawing the known world on twenty-six maps; for every map the central meridian is given and the localities most reliably defined mentioned, and this is done by giving the length of their longest day and their relation to Alexandria also defined in hours and minutes (i.e., degrees). Every section begins with the same formal words, for instance: ὁ πρῶτος πίναξ τῆς Εὐρώπης περιέχει τὰς Βρετανικὰς νήσους σὺν ταῖς περὶ αὐτὰς νήσοις· ὁ δὲ διὰ μέσου αὐτοῦ παράλληλος λόγος ἔχει πρὸς τὸν μεσημβρινὸν ὡς τὰ ἰσθμια πρὸς τὰ εἰς. περιορίζεται δὲ ὁ πίναξ Τῆς δὲ Ἰουερνίας νήσου αἱ ἐπίσημοι πόλεις . . . (Ptol. viii. 3, 1-4). Now, at least in Codex Constantinopolitanus, the pieces of Book VIII. are fitted into the text of the former Books so mechanically that these introductory words are taken along with the rest, in the instance just quoted between the description of Ireland belonging to Book II. and the list of the chief towns of Ireland taken from Book VIII. Consequently they have no sense in the context where they are placed, as only information on a separate province is in question, and not the topography of a whole country or several countries; besides, the number of the map cited has nothing to do with the

⁴² Ptolemaei *Geographia*, t. 2 (1901), pp. 1080 and 1011.

⁴³ Also in the Codex Urbinus gr. 83, which belongs to Class B, but is too recent to have any independent importance, Book VIII.

is reported to show great lacunae, which must be explained in the same way.

⁴⁴ *Zentr.bl. f. Bibliotheken*, xxx. 1913, p. 393, n. 1.

⁴⁵ See p. 63.

maps of Class B. Thus I cannot conceive that this form of the text could be of earlier date than the other, nor even that it could have been edited by Ptolemy. The best explanation at which I have been able to arrive concerning this combination of the two lists is that someone, on perusing the work, has considered as superfluous, perhaps unnatural, the existence of double lists of localities (and so far apart, too), and that he therefore inserted, or ordered his scribe to insert, the lists of Book VIII into the respective places of the Books II.-VII.; and it can be easily conceived that this insertion may have been made quite mechanically.

As to the composition of Ptolemy's work the supposition seems quite acceptable, that it originally consisted of only seven Books, and that Book VIII was added later; its connexion with the preceding ones seems indeed quite loose. There was perhaps a time when two different editions were in use side by side. But at least if we consider the maps now preserved, it seems improbable that the maps of Class B could have been made for such an edition of seven Books and those of Class A independently for an edition of eight Books or for an especial eighth Book. For if their origin had been such the difference between them would probably have been more conspicuous. The most important reason, which refutes the supposition that Classes A and B should have originated independently of each other, is that, as I have previously demonstrated, the same remarkable peculiarities as to certain names seem to appear in both groups, as far as can be observed by the comparison of *Codex Constantinopolitanus* with *Codex Athous*. Of course, it seems quite inconceivable that this could have been the case if both groups of maps had originated independently of each other.

If, in spite of all objections, the maps are thus of common origin, which edition then is the older? J. Fischer, Dinse⁴⁷ and Herrmann⁴⁸ regard Class B (sixty-four maps) as older. The last mentioned assumes that this edition contains direct reminiscences of the maps of Marinus, Ptolemy's predecessor. Dinse for his part especially points out how much better the maps of Class B fit into the main part of the text, i.e. the Books II.-VII., especially if we consider that the original publication was a roll. As to the former assertion, there is, as far as I can judge from the comparisons I have as yet been able to draw, no such great difference between the two sets of maps that we should on account of them be obliged to seek reminiscences of Marinus in the one without seeking them in the other. But if Herrmann's words imply only that the maps of Class B, being older according to the opinion of such a prominent scholar as Prof. J. Fischer, *eo ipso* are nearer to Marinus, the value of his opinion depends on the evidence set forth by Dinse and J. Fischer. We thus come to the arguments put forward by Dinse. I, for my part, am not convinced that the maps of Class B fit in every respect better into a work in the form of a papyrus-roll presumed by him than those of Class A. On the contrary, it seems to me that a separate roll of twenty-

⁴⁷ *Zeitsch. f. Bibliotheksw.*, cxv, 1913, pp. 302-305; *Zeitsch. d. Geograph. f. Erdk.* 1913, pp. 757-790.

⁴⁸ *Zeitsch. d. Geograph. f. Erdk.* 1914, p. 782.

six maps, or twenty-six leaves with maps, would make a considerably more convenient appendix for a roll of papyrus than sixty-four maps scattered over the text, some of them being so large that, when rolled out, it was evidently very difficult simultaneously to read the text written beside them. Only think of the extensive text and the map of Italy and of those of India and Further India, where the maps in many, if not all, codices take two pages. Besides it may, as previously said, be doubted whether Ptolemy's work ever was in the form of a roll. But even for an ordinary book I believe that this statement holds good; surely every reader can confirm from his own experience that plates or maps, to which the text refers at greater length or more than once, are less handy to compare when they are inserted in the text than when they are parts of a separate appendix.

Superficially regarded, the insertion of these maps in the text may perhaps seem more rational, but, as has been pointed out above, there appears in the MSS. of this group B also another 'rational' correction: the splitting up of Book VIII. and the scattering of the pieces over the preceding Books II-VII. As Ptolemy's own directions particularly point to a set of twenty-six maps,³⁰ it would rather seem that the arrangement of Class A represents an earlier edition than Class B. Thus the maps of Class B seem to have been composed later by cutting up the maps of Class A; probably at the same time when Book VIII. was split. Dinse³¹ certainly maintains that the assumption of such a cutting up of the maps is preposterous, as the sixty-four maps of Class B are on a different scale, so that it is not possible to join them together mechanically to form the twenty-six maps of Class A, and *vice versa*; but, as far as I can judge, this assertion is not conclusive and, consequently, does not affect my observations presented above. The changing of scale is not particularly difficult in these maps, and I think that, if once some kind of net measure had been drawn, it ought to have been comparatively easy to copy the model-map on it, even if the scale was changed. Variety of scale is quite in accordance with the fact that sometimes larger countries are fitted into one map, sometimes quite small countries are separated, often depending on their importance and on the abundance of localities to be marked—but this pursuit of reasonable and practical advantage is quite in conformity with the general character of Class B.³²

One more fact that favours the belief that the maps of Class B were made later by dividing up the maps of Class A is to be mentioned: though in both groups the provinces bordering upon the province represented on each map are marked only by outlines and some few more important names and marks, yet in some of the maps of Class B³³ the bordering provinces are marked with greater plenty of details; thus it seems as if the designer

³⁰ viii. 2, 1.

³¹ *Zeitsch. f. Geogr.*, xix. 1913, pp. 384-385 and p. 392 n. 1; *Zeitsch. d. Geol.*, f. Erdk. 1913, p. 759.

³² Ptolemy already remarks that for the

particular maps the scale can vary according to the importance of the countries (viii. 1).

³³ For instance, the maps of Hispania Tarraconensis and of Syria.

on dividing the maps of Class A had reproduced more than would have been strictly necessary.

From the material at my disposal I thus come to the conclusion that Class A is older than Class B, that Class B is founded on Class A, but that Class A itself is a later addition to Ptolemy's own work. First, the maps were designed according to the instructions given in Book VIII, then, aiming at some kind of rationality and convenience, the archetype of Class B was compiled. There is no reason for presuming that this should not have happened in the Roman period, but when and where it was done is difficult to say. Possibly a closer comparison between the two groups may show that the divergencies, for instance, in the nomenclature point in some particular direction; some additions, indeed, seem to suggest Asia Minor.

And what of Agathodaemon? Did he draw the maps, did he make the map of the world, or was he only a copyist? The subscription (. . . τῇ ἀκουμένην πᾶσαν . . . ἐπετίωσα) can be interpreted as meaning either that he really designed all the maps, or that he made the map of the world, though the former interpretation seems more natural.⁵³ Dinse⁵⁴ mentions that the subscription is found in the MSS. of both groups, even in MSS. entirely lacking in maps; and this may point to Agathodaemon as the author of the original edition of the maps. But, on the other hand, J. Fischer, as remarked before, says⁵⁵ that he has found a proof that Agathodaemon drew the map of the world only, though, as far as the information till now at my disposal goes, he has not yet published this evidence. If his assertion holds good, the subscription in question may perhaps have an appropriate place in some MSS. of Class B all the same; for it is to be remembered that in the Codices Laurentianus and Londinensis, belonging to Class B, there is a map of the world added to the special maps, and not as in some of the other MSS. of this group, four maps of the continents; if it appears that this map matches with the map of the world belonging to Class A, then the subscription may, at any rate, be legitimate. Further conjectures on this question, before we make the acquaintance of the evidence promised by J. Fischer, seem useless.

One remark may still be added: that the maps of the continents are decidedly of later or, more exactly expressed, of other origin (leaving aside the question of time) than the maps drawn for Ptolemy's text. This is proved especially by the fact that on the map of Thracia appears Βυζάντιον in accordance with Ptolemy's text, but on the general map of Europe Κωνσταντινούπολις; thus, at least, this map cannot be older than the fourth century. J. Fischer has, indeed, lately mentioned⁵⁶ that Father P. Vogt has in a Codex Mediolanensis found a passage indicating the author of these maps of continents, but further information is as yet lacking.

LAURENCE O. TH. TUDER.

⁵³ Cf. Kretschmer, *Ptolemaeus Mitt.* 60, 1, 1914, p. 143.

⁵⁴ *Ptolemaeus Mitt.* 60, 2, 1914, p. 287.

⁵⁵ *Zeitsch. f. Bild.-wiss.*, xxx, 1913, p. 301.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

A LYDIAN-ARAMAIC BILINGUAL

I.

THE publication of the Lydian inscriptions discovered by the American excavators at Sardis¹ has long been eagerly awaited. Not only do the thirty-four which they found supplement in the most welcome manner the very scanty and fragmentary material hitherto known, but of especial interest was the news that they included an admirably preserved bilingual in Lydian and Aramaic which, it was hoped, might solve the problems of the Lydian language. Unfortunately the Aramaic has proved obscure in some important places; yet, none the less, the bilingual must remain for the present the basis of all further investigation. Hence this volume may legitimately be approached from the Aramaic side by one who, however, is profoundly ignorant of the linguistic problems of Asia Minor, and the attempt may perhaps be made to handle it with special reference to the bilingual and its interest from the Semitic point of view.

Of the fascicule as a whole it is to be said that Prof. Enno Littmann has accomplished his task with the zeal and ability that were to be expected of him. He has spared no trouble to consult the best expert opinion in Germany, and though the Lydian inscriptions still bristle with difficulties, he has brought the problems to a new stage. He has based his decipherment upon the proper names (e.g. Sepharad, Artemis, Artaxerxes), but he deals only briefly with the history of decipherment, and he does not notice the work of Sayce who edited and deciphered a small Lydian inscription from Egypt twelve years ago.² Moreover, it is to be regretted that of the thirty-four inscriptions from Sardis only fifteen are published, thus excluding about half-a-dozen which are of some length, and rendering it impossible to test the value of the references which are made to them and others. None the less, for what is provided in this fascicule one is grateful, and a word of praise is certainly due to the house of Brill for the excellent Lydian type, as also for the general sumptuousness of the production.

The Aramaic text is dated in the tenth year of Artaxerxes, and is of a

¹ *Sardis*. Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, Vol. vi. Lydian Inscriptions, Part I. By Enno Littmann. E. J. Brill, Ltd., Leyden, 1916.

² *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, 1903, vol. xxvii, pp. 123 seq. The bibliography, p. ix. (9), mentions only the older copy published by Sayce in 1895.

familiar funerary character.² It records the ownership of a tomb and certain contents, and calls down divine punishment (the goddess Artemis is invoked) upon the sacrilegious. Almost all the Lydian inscriptions are said to be funerary (p. viii), and are of the same general class as the bilingual; this is especially important, for, while some funerary inscriptions characteristically refer to monetary penalties (as in both Lycian and Nabataean), others deal with the subdivision of the tomb among different owners (as often in Palmyrene), and so forth. In general, there are several noteworthy points



LYDIAN-ARAMEIC BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION.

of contact between the style of the North Semitic inscriptions and that of the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor; in like manner there are architectural similarities—the characteristic Palmyrene sepulchre, for example, resembling the tomb-tower of Lycia. It is necessary to recall the cultural similarities in view of the problem of the relationship between Lydians and Semites, and the question whether the Aramaic of the bilingual is a genuine composition. As regards the latter, Littmann's opinion will have to be

² For the North Semitic epigraphical data, see Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, I, 141-148. Typical examples of

the inscriptions are given by Lidzbarski, and also by G. A. Cooke (*North Semitic Inscriptions*).

compared with that of other Semitists. For myself, I am quite unable to agree with his view that the Aramaic portion was the work of an ignorant translator, who tried to be very literal (p. 24). Littmann's conclusion, if it were accepted, would be of inestimable service for the reconstruction of the Lydian language, but as far as I can see, the Aramaic is in no way the work of some prototype of an Aquila; and in point of fact, in some important places the Lydian and Aramaic diverge very considerably.

Not only does Littmann betray a certain 'anti-Aramaism' in exaggerating the faults of the translator, but he remarks that we have to 'take into consideration the probability that nobody spoke Aramaic at Sardis.' 'The people,' he continues, 'spoke Lydian, the higher officials Persian, and Aramaic was only an artificial language in those western provinces of the Persian Empire where no Aramaeans or Jews lived' (p. 24). On the other hand, if this were so, it would surely be difficult to explain why anyone should take the trouble to prepare this admirable bilingual; moreover, Aramaic was the *lingua franca* of the empire, and Littmann has failed to 'take into consideration' the actual facts—the Aramaic epigraphical remains from Asia Minor.³ Indeed, not only is the use of Aramaic at Sardis thoroughly intelligible, in view of these data, but it is even possible that Semites, perhaps Jews, were already living there.

The question of interrelations between Jews (Semites) and Sardis must be very briefly noticed. At the outset, it is proper to emphasize the possible political interrelations, first due perhaps to the Hittite empire with its centre at Boghaz-keni. The Lydian language has not yet been classified, although there are some very curious resemblances to the Indo-Germanic languages, e.g. 'and' is apparently represented by an enclitic *-k*. On the other hand, as Dr. Giles has recently pointed out, just as Indo-Germanic languages (e.g. Tocharish) can borrow endings from another stock, so, as regards Lydian, 'in a language which ultimately succumbed to Indo-Germanic languages, it may be wise to weigh the possibility of borrowed endings before any decision can be arrived at.'⁴ Viewed from the Semitic angle, too, a mixture of tongues is to be anticipated. So far as I have noticed, of the familiar 'Lydian' glosses, none have been found in the inscriptions, with the possible exception of *κααλδδερ* ('king')⁵. Lagarde's attempts to find Iranian influence are so far justified by the Iranian words in the Aramaic bilinguals of Sardis and Limyra. But Hittite, Mitanni, Kassite, and other clues do not yet seem to have brought anything very tangible. An interesting fact is the appearance in the district of Zenjirli in North Syria, in the eighth century B.C. and

³ See the *Corp. Inscr. Semit.* II, Nos. 108-110: Abydos (the lion weight, in the British Museum); a fragmentary Aramaic and Greek bilingual from Limyra, and a fragment from Sam-Qaleh in the Caucasus. To these three add the fourth-century coins of Tarsus, and an inscription from S.E. Cilicia where a man records that he is on a hunting-expedition and is having a meal (Cooke, p. 194). Other

coins from Asia Minor (Gazura, Sinope) also testify to the knowledge and use of Aramaic during this period.

⁴ In a paper read before the Cambridge Philological Society, 25 Jan. (*Cambr. Univ. Reporter*, 27 Feb., pp. 387 sq.)

⁵ For the glosses I have consulted Lagarde, *Grammelle Abhandlungen*, 270 sqq.; and Pauli, *Altind. Forsch.* II, 1 (1886), 67 sqq.

after the fall of the Hittite empire, of dialects which are (a) Canaanite or Phoenician, (b) Proto-Aramaic, and (c) distinctively Aramaic. These inscriptions belong to a district with Carian and related affinities (e.g. in the name of king Panammu, etc.), and they have linguistic features which are now barely Semitic and now quite un-Semitic. In fact, a stele from Ordek-burnu is practically inexplicable and Hittite, Lycian, and other elements have been recognised in it by Lidzbarski and Sayce.⁷ With such interrelations it would not be unnatural if, *en revanche*, there were Semitic ethnical and linguistic elements in western Asia Minor; and it is permissible, I think, to urge that the familiar traditional relationship between Lydia and the Semites has some sound basis.

Whatever may have been the extent of intercourse under the Hittite empire, Lydia in the seventh century came into contact with Assyria, first, when its king Gyges, threatened by the Gimirrai sent to Assurbanipal, and later, when his mercenaries assisted Psamatik against Assyria. In the two following centuries Lydia and Media were the great rival powers, and Lydians were in closer political touch with Semites. The Jews knew of the Lydian troops (Isaiah lxvi. 19, etc., the identification need not be doubted); and when a late source includes Lydia among the children of Shem (Gen. x. 22), it is impossible to ignore a political conception which finds its counterpart in what the Lydians had to say of their old association with Assyria (Herod. i. 7). In course of time not only did the Jewish Diaspora extend to Sardis (Jos. Ant. xiv. 10, 17, 18), but both Pergamos and Sparta claimed an old kinship between themselves and the Jews.⁸ Whatever be the substratum of fact in these traditions and claims, the theory of a deportation of Jews into Asia Minor by Artaxerxes Ochus rests upon insecure authority, and that under Antiochus the Great (Jos. Ant. xii. 3, 4) has been questioned. On the other hand, the evidence of Obad. 20 is significant, and it may be taken with that of Is. xlix. 12. The latter anticipates the return of Jews from the land of Sinim (read 'Syene'), i.e. Elephantine, whence have come numerous Aramaic papyri from a Jewish colony of the fifth century, which had been settled there before the time of Cambyses. The former looks for the return of the Jews from Sepharad, which, after being commonly identified with Sardis, now at last appears in an Aramaic text.⁹ The precise date of the passage in Obadiah is uncertain, but it can doubtless be claimed for the Persian period. The *terminus a quo* for the presence of Jews in Sardis still remains a problem, but at all events the two biblical passages point to the existence of bodies of Jews at two remote parts of the Persian empire, and it is tempting to conjecture that the Aramaic bilingual indicates that Jewish settlers were then living in Lydia.¹⁰

⁷ E.g. the Lydian *Engu* 'grave'; see (respectively) *Epigraphica*, iii. 1911, 205; and *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.* xxxvi. 1914, 233 *sup.*

⁸ Jos. *l.c.* 22, 1 Mac. xii. 21. According to the Talmud the Jews of Phrygia were of the Ten Tribes (*Kery. Bā*, col. 3767).

⁹ It is not mentioned on the Lydian portion, but Littmann points to *Separd* (L. 12, p. 62), *Spard* (p. 11), etc.

¹⁰ It is worth adding that in Obad. c. 20 'this hint' is corrupt. Bower (*Intercad. Crit. Comm.* p. 44) follows Duhm and an early

In fine, Lydia was a great industrial power, with a slave-market and with a large commercial trade by land. Sardis was a meeting-place of caravans, and the intercommunication would encourage the use of a *lingua franca*, which would presumably have been Phoenician were it a coast town, but under the circumstances was Aramaic. Further, the use of Aramaic involves the question of the first beginnings of the Diaspora. Perhaps there had been frequent intercommunication. There is evidence for mutual knowledge on the part of Lydians and Semites, and Lydians and Jews would know one another as warriors. The very late evidence for Jews in Sardis and Pergamos can be traced back to the reference to Sardis (Sepharad) in Obad. v. 20, and while the current view of Halah would place deported Israelites in North Syria, etc., the suggested emendation 'Cilicia' (note 10) would carry them a stage nearer the Lydian capital. In any case, Littmann's remarks on the use of Aramaic cannot be accepted, and the bilingual gains distinctly in interest if we compare Obad. v. 20 with Is. xlix. 12, and bear in mind the place held by the Aramaic-speaking Jews of Syene—Elephantine.

From a palaeographical point of view the inscription is evidently of about the same period as the Memphis stele of 482 B.C. (*C.I.S.* ii. 122, Cooke, No. 71), the Elephantine papyri, and the lion-weight from Abydos. But the *b* (𐤁) and perhaps also the *h* (𐤅) point to about 400 B.C. In any case the inscriptions of Cappadocia (Lidzbarski, *Ephem.* i. 59-73) and Taxila (*Journ. of Royal Asiatic Soc.* 1915, pp. 340 *seqq.*) are later; and it is to be observed that the Sardis script is relatively earlier in those letters (*h* and *b*), and also to a rather less degree *h*, whose forms in the Taxila stone led Dr. Cowley to descend later than the fifth century. My own impression, based solely upon palaeographical grounds, is that the Artaxerxes mentioned in the bilingual is the second or third rather than the first of that name; and it may be noticed that the Lydian inscription No. 26 (p. 55) belongs to the same series as the rest and is of the fifth year of Alexander.¹¹ The numeral signs call for no comment, they agree with Aramaic usage. Errors in the inscription are not excluded; there is an inexplicable *b*, apparently for *d*, in *S-f-r-b* (l. 3), and the gentilic *S-r-x-k-yo* was omitted and afterwards inserted in both the Lydian and Aramaic; in the latter with a strange *y* and the final *a* pointing downwards. If we may assume that the word was wanting in the original copy, it becomes conceivable that certain obscurities elsewhere are due to the misreading, by the mason, of the copy from which he carved. Hence we should observe that *d* and *r* (𐤅, 𐤅) and

conjecture of Cheyno, and reads: 'the exiles of the Israelites who are in Halah' (𐤅𐤅𐤅 for 𐤅𐤅𐤅); cf. the similar correction in Ezek. xxvii. 11, for R.V. 'thine army'. But the question now arises whether Halah (whither Sargon deported Israelites, 2 Kings xvii. 6, xviii. 11) should not be Cilicia (on *colna*, 𐤅𐤅𐤅 or 𐤅𐤅𐤅); this would be in harmony with

the Assyrian conquests there and with the order of the names in 2 Kings, *B.C.*, from 'Cilicia' in the west and the Median cities in the east.

¹¹ The tenth year of Artaxerxes can be 453 (445, p. 23 is a misprint), or rather 394 or even 349 (Littmann seems to leave the last out of the question).

t and *s* (ת and ש) are, as usual, practically indistinguishable, but since *b* and *d* can be confused in a cursive script, the strange *S-f-r-b* may be due to a misreading of a hastily written copy. Similarly *h* (ח) is perfectly clear, but in cursive script it sometimes resembles *t* and *s* (see below, the remark at the close of § II.). It may be added that Littmann infers from the omission and subsequent insertion of the gentilic that 'the two parts of the inscription must correspond with each other very closely.' Not only is this inference unnecessary, but when we proceed to an examination of the contents of the bilingual it is found to be in no way in accordance with the facts.

For facility of reference we print (1) the Aramaic text, (2) Littmann's translation, with slight changes, and (3) a transliteration of the Lydian (which for some reason is not provided). All restorations are bracketed; and uncertainties are marked by dots in (1) and (3) or by queries in (2). Littmann's decipherment is followed, but it should be observed that for $\tilde{\omega}$ and $\tilde{\epsilon}$ Mr. Arkwright proposes *i* and *a* respectively. To facilitate comparison the above three parts are divided into ten sections in order to indicate the correspondences. In the fascicle, the Lydian inscriptions are cited by numbers and sometimes also by letters; no table is provided, and it may be convenient therefore to subjoin one:—

L. 1—A	L. 13—F	L. 12 the metrical inser., pp. 58 <i>sqq.</i>
L. 6—B	L. 14—G	L. 17 the Lydian-Aramaic bilingual.
L. 8—C	L. 15—H	L. 25 the Greek-Lydian bilingual (pp. 38 <i>sqq.</i>)
L. 9—D	L. 24—K	
L. 11—E	L. 26—I	

The other inscriptions of which notice is taken below are (1) the 'Falanga' (p. vii.), and (2) the Lydian inscription in the Louvre to be edited by M. Haussoullier. I am much indebted to Mr. W. H. Buckler for copies of these and for other material belonging both to M. Haussoullier and to Mr. Arkwright. Other special acknowledgements of Mr. Buckler's help and courtesy in replying to my queries will be found in their place.

- 1 (I) ב' ח' ח' ל' מ' ר' ח' ש' נ' ד' א' ר' ח' ש' ש' מ' ל' נ' א
 2 בספרד בירתא (II) ונה סתונא ומערתא דרחתא
 3 אתרתא (III) ופירב וי על ספרב ונה פרברא (IV) אחד
 4 ד' מני בר במלי סרוביא (V) ומן וי על סתונא ונה או
 5 מערתא או לדרחתא (VI) לקבל וי פרבר למערתא
 6 ונה (VII) אחר מן וי יתבל או יפוך מנדעס (VIII) אחר
 7 ארתמו וי בלו ואפשישי (IX) תרבעה ביתה
 8 קנינה מין ומין ומנדעמיתה (X) יבדרונה וירתה

1 (I) On the fifth of Marheswân, of the tenth year of Artaxerxes, the king.

2 in Sepharad, the city, (II) this stele and the cavern (and) the funerary couches (7)

Palmyrene the tomb (ܡܪܬܐ) is sometimes mentioned together with 'the cave,' and similarly in Nabataean the tomb (ܡܪܬܐ etc.) contains a vault or chamber (ܡܪܬܐ, cf. the Hebrew word in Judg. ix. 46, 1 Sam. xiii. 6). The 'funerary couches' are entirely conjectural (p. 26); but the Lydian term is not found in L. 1 (a tomb with couches) and everything depends upon the interpretation of the words that follow in §§ III. and VI. The Aramaic word is unknown and cannot decently be equated with the Nabataean ܡܪܬܐ ('vault'). On the other hand, Payne Smith, *Syn. Tass.* (col. 948), leads one to the Persian *dirakht* 'tree.'¹² It is at once tempting to refer to Gen. xxiii. 17 (the field, the cave, the trees in the field, in all the border thereof round about). Moreover an important inscr. from Petra (*C.L.S.* ii. 390, *Cooke*, No. 94) refers to the tomb, the larger and smaller vaults (ܡܪܬܐ), the surrounding wall (?) - - gardens - - walls of water - - and the rest of all the entire property (?) in these places. Thinking of the *sepulchra* I enquired of Mr. Buckler, who, however, doubts whether there was room for trees or gardens on the steep hillside where the tombs of Sardis were situated. Still, it is impossible to say how much may not have changed during the last twenty-three centuries or so, especially if we take into consideration the terrible earthquake of 17 A.D., in which Sardis suffered so disastrously. Moreover, Mr. Buckler tells me that although trees are not mentioned in the later Greek funerary inscriptions, 'from Tomi (Constantza) on the Black Sea we have an inscription mentioning τὸ ἀνδραῖον καὶ τὸ μαρμαίον ("locum et sepulchrum" in the Latin version); *Monast.*, 1884-85, p. 37, n. 23; while near Hyzair in Lydia has been found a tomb εἰς καὶ τὸ περιβόλιον καὶ τοῖς διεδρασίαις αὐτοῦ τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἕρπον (Keil and Premerstein, *Denkschr. Wiener Akad.*, LVII. i. [1914], No. 108). Unfortunately it seems impossible to reach any confident conclusion, nor can I explain the next word (ܡܪܬܐ), which Littmann has not translated. It may mean 'places' (for ܡܪܬܐ as in the above Nabataean inscr.; or for ܡܪܬܐ, i.e. 'in these places'; it seems hopeless to divide it into ܡܪܬܐ 'place of a chamber.' One would like to conjecture that it is an error for ܡܪܬܐ '(and) other thing(s)'. At all events it is wanting in L. 5 (§ V.).

§ III. 'The forecourt,' a word of Persian origin. Professor Hoffmann calls attention to the Biblical *Parbar* (1 Chron. xxvi. 18), and Professor Andreas would write everywhere *p-r-b-d*; Littmann assumes that *Parvar* (2 Kings xxiii. 11, where the Syriac has *p-r-b-d*) is not, as is usually thought, to be identified with it. On the other hand, this surmise is unnecessary, and while in later Hebrew-Aramaic *parbar* (f-d) is based upon the Old Testament, *parvar* (f-d) is used independently of suburbs, precincts, or outworks. It is especially interesting to encounter this word if there were Jews then living at Sardis; and if the term applies to the open space outside and in front of the tomb (cf. pp. 26 seq.), the conjectured 'trees' would find some support. But it is difficult to determine whether (1) *parbar* means a definite forecourt, or (2) the general precincts of the tomb, or (3) whether even it might not be applied to an internal *coedra*. Of these (1) has good support, cf. also the *stoa* before the tomb in Palmyrene, Lidz. *Ephem.* ii. 298; (3) is suggested by difficulties in § VI.; and for (2) we may compare the references in Gen. xxiii. and the Petra inscription (above). Moreover, some Greek funerary inscriptions mention the surrounding district, see Le Bas and Waddington, Nos. 1687-9, from Hierapolis (ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν τόπος), and one from Lydia has a unique reference to *sur' al'ayr' alpa* (Keil and Premerstein, *Denkschr. Wiener Akad.* LIII. ii. No. 102). See further below, § VI. The Aramaic ܡܪܬܐ is hopeless, and it is impossible, as the text stands, to find any reference to 'writing' (ܡܪܬܐ, cf. the allusions on funerary inscriptions to deeds and titles; or to 'bank,' or 'boundary' (*sefir*), cf. the allusion in Gen. xxiii. 17. The repetition and specific mention of 'this (is?) its forecourt' are unintelligible; more-

¹² Mr. Staff of Pembroke College informs me that this word 'occurs in Avesta as an adjective or a participle meaning something

like "standing fast." It occurs however in Pehlevi in the usual sense (viz. a tree). In Armenian it means . . . "a garden."

over, there is a similarly difficult affix h in the Limyra inscription; both are cases of the suffix ('his'), or conceivably of an exceptional form of the emphatic state.

§ IV. The uses of w , w are noteworthy. Here (L. 3) Littmann reads w 'property,' whereas in §§ VII, VIII (L. 6) w introduces a protasis and an apodosis. w in the Limyra inscription is similarly ambiguous; although in Nabataean (C.I.S. II, 234) w is a verb ('this is the resting-place which A. occupied [prepared, Enting]'). There is no difficulty in the d (by the side of; in γ), and Lidzbarski's objection (*Hundbuch*, p. 139, n. 4) overlooks the late retention of the γ of the relative and demonstrative (see Driver, *Lit. of Old Test.*, App. pp. xxxv. seq.).¹² It is at least an interesting coincidence that the cave of Machpelah belonged to 'a possession of a grave' (*dhawath qeber*). On w - w see the note on the Lydian text.

§ V. The Aramaic has no verb in § V. seq. and the three terms are differently construed ('against' the stele, the cavern [in the accusative], and 'to' the couches). This hardly seems due to any literal translation of the Lydian which is much simpler than the Aramaic. Lidzbarski's attempt to treat w as a verb ('to wrong') is rightly rejected (p. 28); we should expect a verb in the imperfect. Besides, the detailed sentence (without a verb) in § V. seq. is resumed in § VII., see below; similar examples of resumption appear in Lydian (L. II, and perhaps L. 26).

§ VI. 'The preposition w means in front of, opposite.' Littmann's words overlook the presence of w . There are two usual constructions: (1) w (Biblical Aramaic *lithlithi*, 'according to,' 'by reason of,' and 'before' (Dan. ii. 31, before an image; Palmyrene, Cooke, No. 147, l. 10, a stele in front of a temple); and (2) w (or w) w , 'inasmuch as,' etc. (Ezr. vi. 13; Nab. C.I.S. II, 164). As regards the latter, it seems impossible to find a verb in p-r-l-r (especially in view of its use in § III.); moreover, usage would suggest that such a verbal clause would be associated with another, e.g. to express a reason. If we ignore w it may be asked whether the 'funerary couches' are opposite the *parbar*, or on the opposite side of it. Littmann takes them to be in the first of the two rooms which the tombs generally contained (p. 29). In Palmyrene we read of 'this *exedra* on the opposite side of the vault (w w)' which lies opposite the door (w w w): see Cooke, No. 143; cf. No. 144, where a man gives another a part of the vault, namely, of the *exedra* lying opposite (w); cf. also Lidzbarski, *Eph.* II, 274. Now, the *exedra* is compared by Cooke (p. 309) to the forecourt of the great temple at Baalbek; yet at the same time in Jewish usage it can refer to a porch or covered passage outside and before a house. Hence it seems a priori possible that the term *parbar* could also be applied to the inside or to the outside of a building, and upon this the interpretation of w ('funerary couches') will depend. If the *parbar* is inside, the specification in § VI. (the p . of this cavern) seems unnecessary; whereas, if it refers to the outside area, or to a part of it, the emphasis both here and in § III. ('this is its p .) seems more intelligible. But if the former, the conjecture 'funerary couches' has much in its favour; whereas, if the latter, it seems unnatural to define any of the contents of the vault by reference to something outside it.¹³ It may be added that Littmann's severe comment on the masculine 'this' with the feminine 'cave' is uncalled for; even *exedra* is sometimes used as a masculine (Cooke, p. 308; Lidzbarski, *Eph.* II, 271). Further, one could connect 'this' with *parbar* (opposite the p . of the cavern—this one, cf. the emphasis at the end of § III.); as an alternative, one may transpose w and w and read 'before the p . which belongs to this *exedra*'; perhaps the latter is simpler.

¹² With Littmann's suggestion that w is influenced by the corresponding Lydian *alat*, cf. an occasional usage of the Septuagint (e.g. *reves* for Heb. *ak* 'oppression,' see Driver's note on 1 Sam. v. 4). But the uses are rather different.

¹³ It is quite intelligible, on the other hand, when (in the Palm. inscr. above) the couches lie opposite the door. If 'which is above Sepharad' means overlooking or facing Sardis (p. 27), the p . must clearly be outside the cavern.

§ VII. 𐤀𐤍𐤏 lit. 'afterwards, consequently,' etc., may be influenced by Pesian usage (Lidzbarski, cf. his *Ephesi* i. 98); and the repetition, to express the protasis and apodosis, seems to be connected with the Lydian use of *ak*. The word illuminates the Limyra inscription (see § I., above) where the editors (reading 𐤀𐤍𐤏) render: *sepulcrum istud Artim filius Artim fecit, unus ex sinu qui*. . . II, however, we read 𐤀𐤍𐤏 and observe that no imperfect follows, we can restore 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤕 , and render 'afterwards, whosoever (shall destroy /) aught) . . .'. § VII. appears to sum up the detailed and verbless § V. *eq.*, as though: 'whosoever shall destroy or break anything at all.' The first verb is familiar in Aramaic (e.g. *C.I.S.* ii. 113), but the second means rather 'rub, crush, husk.' Littmann again protests, the word 'would scarcely have been employed here by a man whose native tongue was Aramaic. Again we see that the translator had but a slight and superficial knowledge of that language' (p. 29).¹¹ On the other hand, the technical use (husk, rub fruits, etc.) would be not inappropriate if the 'funerary couches' should after all prove to be 'trees'.

§ VIII. The masculine form of 'Ephesian' affords another opportunity for a gibe at 'our worthy translator' (p. 29), although elsewhere the similar error in § VI. 'indicates that the Lydians had no grammatical gender in their language' (p. 24).

§ IX. The word for 'court' is familiar, it refers to a forecourt or garden near a house, and one is tempted to suppose that, as the inscription is to protect the grave ('the eternal house' in Palmyrene, etc.) and the *peribolē* (= forecourt), so, if anyone destroys it, may his court and house suffer—an application of the tallo. Of special interest is the phrase 'soil and water' (*ḥā ṣeṣ-mā*); though apparently new, it is in keeping with Semitic assonance, and also with the alliterative pairs in the Lydian. Littmann aptly compares 'house and home,' 'Haus und Hof,' 'Kind und Kegel,' which are surely the phrases which 'ignorant' translators do not know. *ḥā ṣeṣ-mā* will be an extraordinarily happy and literal rendering of one of the Lydian pairs, or a technical Aramaic phrase otherwise unknown and not necessarily a literal translation; either the translation is an excellent idiomatic one, by a skilled Semite, or it is a stock phrase which is no clue to the Lydian.

Finally, Littmann's note on 'everything that is his' is extremely confused. He objects that 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤕 would literally mean 'his anythings.' 'This is not good English; neither is it good Aramaic. The plural of the indefinite 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤕 together with a suffix is very conspicuous in Old Aramaic. The form 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤕𐤕 without the suffix occurs in the papyri from Elephantine . . .'. Now, if the word occurs in the plural there can be no objection to the plural here. But it is the suffixed form which is the novelty, and the form cited from Elephantine occurs in a letter (Sachau i. 12) where, by the way, the writers in spite of their excellent Aramaic construe it with a verb in the singular. In fact Littmann's first two sentences should apparently be deleted.

§ X. The use of the verb 'disperse' is not so 'very strange,' as Littmann urges (p. 29), especially if we may suppose that the inscription would be read by Jews who knew what it meant to be scattered away from their native land. Further, the masculine for the feminine is not so noticeable as the failure to use the jussive form (which Littmann overlooks). 'His heir' is in the singular; to what parallel inscriptions with the plural Littmann refers on p. 29 is not clear, for examples of singular collectives, see Cooke, Nos. 66₁₀ (𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤕), 79₂ (𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤕𐤕).

In spite of its many obscurities the general character of the Aramaic is intelligible, and this in itself is important for the parallel Lydian and the other inscriptions from Sardis resembling it. I see absolutely no reason to assume that it is the work of an ignorant or of a mechanical translator; as is not infrequently the case with bilinguals,

¹¹ The Lydian uses only one verb, which recurs several times in the inscriptions; but if it 'probably had a more general meaning than the two special words in Aramaic' (p.

35), it is more difficult to see wherein the translator is showing his ignorance of Aramaic.

there is no close correspondence, and it remains, therefore, to consider the Lydian in the light of the preceding remarks on the Aramaic.¹⁴

¹⁴ After writing out my notes on the Lydian text I received, through the kindness of Mr. Buckler, photographs and drawings of the Lydian inscriptions not included in this fascicle. It seemed desirable, therefore, to postpone the completion of this review, since these inscriptions contained many features of importance for the decipherment and explanation of Lydian. I may add, however, that although these increased my scepticism in several cases, I am unable to make any positive suggestion, as regards Lydian, and it is to be remembered that the advantage of

possessing the Lydian-Aramaic bilingual is counterbalanced by the twofold disadvantage—the one, that there is no precise word for word correspondence between the two parts, and the other that the Lydian language cannot be safely identified. But in the decipherment of Egyptian, Assyrian, and Old Persian monuments, the correspondence in the bilinguals and trilinguals was sufficiently close, and valuable constructive work was achieved by the help of Coptic, Semitic, and Persian languages respectively.

STANLEY A. COOK.

(To be continued.)

LYDIAN RECORDS.

THE inscriptions here published were in the main copied by me during excursions made in the years 1912-1914. A few are reproduced from squeezes furnished by residents of Thyateira (Ak-hissar) and Smyrna who travelled much in the surrounding country. Of the texts from Philadelphia (Ala-shehir) four (Nos. 1-4) came to light in 1913-1914 among the materials of the picturesque old Kursum-khane, the upper stories of which were being pulled down. These monuments, with five others (Nos. 5-9), were preserved at the official residence of the Metropolitan of Philadelphia, by whose kindness I was enabled to take copies and squeezes.

Unless otherwise stated, these inscriptions are presumed to be unpublished, but owing to the present difficulty of obtaining foreign scientific journals, this point is in some doubt.

PHILADELPHIA.

(1)

Marble basis from the Kursum-khane, lying in the courtyard of the Metropolitan's house. Height, 79 cm.; width, 58 cm.; thickness 19 cm. Most of the original surface preserved at top, on left side, and on right side from top to within 27 cm. of bottom. Face of block broken away in upper left-hand corner and below the text. The rear and lower portions of the block have been split off. Text well preserved, except last line, which is blurred with cement. Height of letters in l. 1, 2.5 cm.; in other lines, 1.3 to 2 cm.



- Ἀγαθῇ] Τυχῇ
 Αὐρ. (?) Π[ολυκράτης, Κιβυράτης β[ουλευ-
 τῆς π[ένταθλος καὶ Φιλαδελφεῖς
 βουλε]υτῆς, ξυστάρχης διὰ βίου
 5 τῶν] μεγάλων ἀγῶνων Δείων Ἀ[λεί-
 ων] Φιλαδελφείων, καὶ Λακεδαιμό-
 νιος βουλευτῆς καὶ Ἀθηναῖος καὶ
 Ἐφέσιος καὶ Νεικοπολείτης καὶ ἄλ-
 λων πόλεων πολλῶν πολεῖτης,
 10 νεικήσας τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους
 ἀγῶνας· Σεβήρεια ἐν Νεικείᾳ παιδῶν
 πένταθλον πρώτην τρεῖς, Βαλ-
 βίλλα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παιδῶν πέντα-
 θλον πρώτην τρεῖς, Τραιάνεια
 15 ἐν Περγάμῳ ἀγυνείων στάδιον,
 Ἀδριάνεια ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀγυνείων
 στάδιον πένταθλον, Χρυσάνθηνα (?)
 ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀγυνείων στάδιον,
 Ἀπολλωνεία Πύθια ἐν Ἱεραπόλει
 20 ἀγυνείων στάδιον, Ἀκτία ἐν Νει-
 κοπόλει

Probable date: between 200 and 212 A.D.

Philadelphēia was named in honour of its founder Attalos II. Philadelphos, and its ethnic adjective was Φιλαδελφεός (l. 3) or Φιλαδελφηνός (Buresch, *aus Lydien*, p. 108). Waddington (note on L.B.W. 645) was of opinion that the epithet Φιλαδέλφεια borne by the games mentioned in ll. 5-6 was given as at Nikaia in Bithynia (see below) in honour of Caracalla and Geta, and that it referred not to the city¹ but to the 'brotherly love' of the young princes. If this plausible theory is accepted, we must assume that the title was discarded after Geta's murder in 212. Thus in a Cilician inscription (*J.H.S.* xii. 1891, p. 242 n. 26 = *I.G.R.R.* iii. 880) in honour of the two princes the word φιλαδελφίας (l. 6) was erased after that year.

Line 2. This athlete is not otherwise known. From l. 11 onwards his victories as boy, as youth, and probably in the missing lines as man, are recorded in order of date, as in *L.B.M.* 615 and in *Ephesos* ii. 72.

Lines 5-6. These games are mentioned only in three other local inscriptions as follows:—

C.I.G. 3427 = *L.B.W.* 645: τὰ μεγάλα Δεία Ἀλεια Φιλαδέλφεια.

Ath. Mitt. xx. 1895, p. 244: τῶν μεγάλων ἱερῶν ἀγῶνων Δείων Ἀλείων Φιλαδελφείων.

C.I.G. 3428: Δεία Ἀλεια ἐν Φιλαδέλφειᾳ.

In the third of these the epithet Φιλαδέλφεια is omitted. Waddington's view as to the origin of that epithet at Philadelphēia is based upon its

¹ For a similar distinction between different *Asoloniae* and *Asoloniensēs*, *L.B.M.* iii. 1, p. 2 forms of adjective, cf. Newton's remarks on

having been given in honour of Caracalla and Geta to the Σεβήρεια at Nikaia in Bithynia. A coin of that city bears the busts of the boy princes with the legend:

ΣΕΟΝΗΡΙΑ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ[ΦΕΙΑ ΜΕ]ΓΑΛΑ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ

(*B.M. Cat. Pontus, &c.*, p. 162, n. 63). These games at Nikaia appear to have had but a brief existence, and since no mention of our Φιλαδέλφεια has yet been found outside of their own city, it is likely that for the reason above suggested their career also was short-lived.

Besides the director (ἐπιστάτης) here named, these games had a secretary or recorder (γραμματεὺς): *Ath. Mitt.* xx. 1895, p. 244.

Line 11. Σεβήρεια ἐν Νευκία. See the preceding note. The only other epigraphic mention of these games appears to be *I.G.* iii. 1, 129: Σενήρεια ἐν Νευκία. Perhaps Polykrates competed before they had received the epithet Φιλαδέλφεια.

Lines 12-14. The Βαλβίλλα of Ephesus are well known from many inscriptions; e.g. *I.B.M.* 615: ἐ[ν] Ἐφέσῳ παίδων Βαλβίλλα.

Lines 14-15. Τραϊάνεια ἐν Περγᾶμῳ: cf. *I.G.R.R.* i. 443; *C.I.G.* 3428. This was the second of the great neocoric festivals of Pergamon (v. Fritze, *Münzen v. Perg.* 1910, p. 82).

Line 16. Ἀδριάνεια ἐν Ἀθήναις: cf. *I.G.R.R.* i. 444; *I.G.* iii. 1, frequently.

Lines 17-21. The restorations are partly uncertain, especially Χρυσάνθινα, since κοινὰ Ἀσίας would fill the space quite as well.

But though there were many Ἀπολλώνεια—e.g. at Miletos and Myndos—the restoration of l. 19 seems practically certain. The Ἀπολλώνεια Πύθια of Hierapolis are mentioned in another Philadelphiean text of this period, *C.I.G.* 3428, as well as in *I.B.M.* 615: ἐν Ἱερσπόλει ἀγνεύειον Ἀπολλών[εια]. The well-known games of Nikopolis are restored in l. 20-21, on the suggestion conveyed by Νεικοπολείτης in l. 8.

(2)

Marble slab, broken at sides and bottom, with moulding at top just above the inscription. In the same place as n. 1. Height, 19 cm.; width, 42 cm.; thickness, 13 cm. Height of letters, 1·8 cm. Date, second or third century A.D.



<p>{ τοῦ π]α[τ]ρός οὐνοῦ ἔχων { Ἀντώνιος ἐνθάδε κεῖται</p>	<p>"Αβρῶν ως . . .</p>
<p>{ νύμφη σὺν ἡγαθέῃ. { τ]ὸ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν "Αβρωνα</p>	<p>ρα . . . μα . . .</p>
<p>5 { π]ρὶν τοῦ πληρῶσαι τοῖς { τρίς] δεκάκις λοκάβ(α)ντ(α)ς</p>	<p>πια . . .</p>
<p>{ ἐξερ]χθεὶς ζωῆς πατρὶ δυσ- { πότμ]ω κατ[αθνήσκει</p>	

The full name of the dead man, probably M. Ἀντώνιος "Αβρων, is of interest in view of Rostowzew's theory as to the influence of Mark Antony at Philadelphia: *Studien z. Gesch. des röm. Kolonates*, 1910, p. 290.

The second syllable of νύμφη (l. 3) is short, while τ]ὸ (l. 4) is long, but such laxity is common in verse of this kind.

The point of l. 4 is that Antonios and his wife lay in this tomb because they were of the family of "Αβρων. The burial of anyone not belonging to the owner's family (μὴ ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ γένους, *I.B.M.* 1026) is often expressly forbidden in funerary inscriptions.

In l. 8 the K and the top of the T are quite clear. The Ω and Λ are only partly preserved. The owner of the tomb "Αβρων appears to have been mentioned in the second column.

[3]

Small marble column, round at the back but flat in front where the text is inscribed. Upper part broken. Height, 29 cm.; width, 13 cm.; thickness, 10 cm. Height of letters, 1·8 to 2·8 cm.



[κατεσκευ.]
 α]σε ἐα]ν-
 τῇ καὶ Δη-
 μητρίω
 καὶ τοῖς
 5 τέκνοις
 αὐτῆς.

(4)

Short column of coarse alabaster, with moulding projecting 3 cm. round the base. Flat top, 11 cm. below which the inscription begins. Height 40 cm.; diameter, 25 cm. Height of letters, 3.5 to 5 cm.



Μεμόριον

Μακεδονίου

αἰκίας

μακαρίου

For *μεμόριον* cf. Ramsay, *C.B.* i. p. 736, n. 672, *Μανασείον*, 1884-5, p. 69 n. vξη'. The form *μνημόριον* is found in K.P. II. 174.²

The epitaph of a bishop Makedonios of Apollonis in Lydia dates from the fourth century A.D. *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, pp. 88, 312.

The meaning of ll. 3, 4 may have been that Makedonios was a member of the household of Makarios, but since *μακάριος* often refers to the dead (e.g. *C.L.G.* 9130, 9041, 9829) it seems preferable to translate: 'Memorial to the household of the deceased Makedonios.'

(5)

Marble slab at the Metropolitan's house, said to have been found in the town. Broken on right side and at bottom, top and left side intact. Height 21 cm.; width, 27 cm.; thickness, 5 cm. Height of letters, 2.3 to 3 cm.



+ Ἐκμνηθ(η) ὁ δ(ο)ῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰου-

λιανὸς μ

του μ

The lettering of this fragment seems to be much earlier than that of n. 11 below, but more modern than that of n. 9.

² K.P. I., II., and III. denote the *Berichte* of the three journeys in Lydia published by J. Keil and A. v. Premerstein in *Denkschr.*

Wien. Abh. lv.-lvii. 1908-1914. The Arabic figures refer to the numbers borne by the inscriptions.

(6)

Lower part of marble stele, broken on top and at sides. Traces of an effaced bas-relief are visible above the inscription.

Total height, 56 cm.; width, 48 cm.; thickness, 5 cm.; height of panel bearing the text, 19 cm. Height of letters, 2.1 to 2.5 cm. The Metropolitan informed me that it was found a short distance east of Philadelphia.



Θεῷ ΤΨίτω, μεγάλῳ θεῷ,
Διοφάντος Ἀκιαμοῦ ἱερέως
ἐλυχῆν. ἔτους σξ. μηνός]
Γορπάλιου θ(ι).

The object of this dedication may be Zeus; see K.P. I. 39, from Philadelphia, a text almost exactly contemporary with ours. But it seems more likely to have been Yahweh, whose worship among pagans was common at this period: cf. Acts, xvi. 17, Ramsay, *Bearing of Recent Discovery on N.T.* 1915, p. 137.

On the Judaeo-pagan worship of Θεὸς ΤΨιστος, see Schürer, *S.Ber. Akad. Berlin*, 1897, p. 200; Cumont, *Suppl. à la R. de l'Instr. publ. Belge*, 1898, *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1906, pp. 65-68. An ἱερεὺς of this cult is mentioned in *O.G.I.* 755, in *Μουσείον* 1876-78, p. 32, n. σλς and in *A.E.M.Oest.* x. 1886, p. 238. See also the interesting dedication by a θεοσεβής, from Deliler near Philadelphia: K.P. III. 42.

The last letter of Ἀκιαμοῦ was evidently inserted after the inscription had been engraved, and since no sigma was then added to ΤΨίτω this spelling would seem to have been intentional. For such suppression of the sigma-sound cf. ἀνέτησεν, K.P. II. 263; Σέκτος II 267; ἡ τὰς . . (for εἰς τὰς) III. 64; κολαθῖσα, Ramsay, *C.B.* i. p. 153, n. 53.

The Lydian name Ἀκιαμός is well known as that of the king mentioned by Nikolaos of Damascus, fr. 26; *F.H.G.* iii. p. 372; cf. Leigh Alexander, *Kings of Lydia*, 1913, pp. 53, 57. It is also found on a Sardian coin of the first century A.D. (*B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 251, n. 101) but is very rare, if not unique, in epigraphy. Waddington's note on L.B.W. 668 discusses the Lydian proper names in -αμος, and to his list we should now perhaps add Τιαμος; cf. K.P. II. p. 104; Τιωλαμος (*Pisidia*), *B.O.H.* xi. 1887, p. 221, n. 15.

The year 260 of the Actian era = 229/30 A.D., but as a letter seems to be lost after ξ the actual date is probably later by a few years. The clear and well-preserved monogram or figure following Γορπιαίου is perhaps a form of *theta*.

(7)

Three small marble reliefs in the courtyard of the Metropolitan's house, said to have been found in a garden near the town with several others which the owner had chosen to hide. My measurements are lost but, as I remember, the stones are each about two feet high and about 1 ft. 6 in. wide.



Upper stone: Αὐτόλυκος
Lower r. stone: Χρυσάντελος
Lower l. stone: Καλλίμορφος (?)

These probably belonged to a burial-place of gladiators (cf. Ramsay, *C.B.* i. p. 75, nos. 9, 10, p. 232; n. 79) perhaps connected with a local training-school (Λουδοί, K.P. II. 72), or built by an ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας who had given a gladiatorial show. I can find no other case in which a group of such grave-stones, exactly alike except for their inscriptions, have been found together in Asia Minor. Αὐτόλυκος is one of those professional nicknames which gladiators were fond of borrowing from literature or mythology; cf. Ἀεταίος, *R. de Philol.* xxxvii. 1913, p. 329, n. 21; Ἀμφιάραος, K.P. II. 213; Ἐπειο-ελεῖν, K.P. iii. 60.

Χρυσάνπελος is probably also a nickname, like Χρυσόπτερος in K.P. III. 60.

The third name is Καλλιμορφος, if I remember rightly, but my note on it is lost.

(8)

Marble slab from Mendecora, a village about 10 miles N.W. of Philadelpheia; see map in K.P. III. The Metropolitan told me that the two fragments, which fit closely, were found together in a wall in 1913, and were brought to his house in Philadelpheia by his instructions. Height, 42 cm.; width, 68 cm.; thickness, 6 cm.; height of letters, 3.5 cm. Back smoothly finished; copy and squeeze taken May 23, 1914.



† Ἀνελήμφθη ὁ ἅγιος Πραΰλιος
ὁ κοινῶς ὁ κατὰ τόπον
ἐν ἔτει φμέ, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνι) η' καὶ μηνὶ
Ξανθικῷ ἰε', ὁ[μ](έρα) Κυριακῇ, τῇ (=Sunday, March 8, A.D. 515)
συνόδῳ τῇ Μ[υλωνε]ωμητῶν.

The interest of this inscription lies in the light thrown by it on the constitution of the *κόμη*, in the name of this village, and in the elaborate dating, which is uncommon in Christian inscriptions from this part of Asia Minor; *MéL. d'Arch.* xv, 1895, p. 295.

That the date is of the Actian era, namely, 545-31 = 514/515 A.D., is confirmed by the mention of the eighth indiction: cf. Pauly-Wiss. *R.E.* i. 666. This era was in use throughout the territory of Philadelpheia (K.P. I. p. 29; III. pp. 18, 37) to which the site of Mendecora is thus shown to have belonged (K.P. III. pp. 15, 26). The script resembles that of K.P. III. 89 (Hypaίρα) which appears rightly attributed to the reign of Justinian.

From the elegance of this script, the unusual epithet ἅγιος, the title ὁ κοινῶς, the careful dating and the dedication by the village community, it is evident that Praylios was a man of importance, probably an ecclesiastical

personage. Influential men, including ecclesiastics, were often at this period large holders of land in village estates as 'patrons' of the villagers. We may safely assume that Praylios was the patron of our *κώμη*, though the community could not lawfully commemorate him as such. Our inscription may have been a mere memorial, for there is nothing to show that it marked a tomb.

Line 1. The monogrammatic cross (cf. *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 312) is here combined with the monogram of *Χριστός* at the end of l. 2. Both symbols are similarly found as mere ornaments in *C.I.G.* 9875; just as two crosses are used in an inscription somewhat resembling ours: Ramsay, *C.B.* i. p. 561, n. 454.

ἀνελήμφθη occurs in the text just cited. On this word cf. *KP.* III. 53.

ὁ ἅγιος, an unusual epithet for men other than saints or bishops, probably indicates that Praylios was bishop of Philadelphia. It is true, as Prof. J. B. Bury has pointed out to me, that in texts of about this period the usual title of a bishop is *ἀγιώτ(ατος)*—cf. *C.I.G.* 8641 (A.D. 565); 9350-2 (seventh to eighth centuries)—and *ὁ ἅγιος* as an episcopal epithet does not to my knowledge occur until such late inscriptions as *C.I.G.* 8954, 8958. A bishop, however, may have been called *ἅγιος*, not as a title but in recognition of his saintliness, and since there are few accurately dated inscriptions from this region as early as the sixth century A.D. it would be rash to infer that *ἅγιος* was not at this period a correct episcopal prefix. On the other hand we know (1) that the patrons of villages consisted of two classes—powerful laymen and great churchmen—(Zulueta, *de patrocinio vicorum*, 1909, pp. 12-13; Mitteis and Wilcken, *Grundz. u. Chrestom. d. Papyruskunde*, I. i. 1912, p. 323); (2) that *ἅγιος* was not a term applied to laymen, until in later times it was given to the emperors. Praylios was therefore probably either a bishop or the head of a great monastery, and as no such monastery is known to have existed in this neighbourhood he is more likely to have been the local bishop.

Πραΐλιος, the name of a patriarch of Jerusalem (*Le Quien, Or. chr.* iii. p. 162), is found in Christian inscriptions at Mermera and Julia Gordos (*KP.* II. 13) as well as in the sixth century text below (n. 9). This seems to have been the form current in Christian times, whereas the earlier form was *Πράϊλος*: *I. c. Priene*, 313⁹⁸, 355⁹; *R.C.H.* xxiv. 1900, p. 335; cf. Fick-Bechtel, *Gr. Personennamen*, p. 242.

Line 2. *ὁ κοινῶνός* evidently corresponds to the *consors* of *C. Theod.* v. 16. 34 (A.D. 425). This law, which aimed at preventing single individuals from buying a share in any imperial estate, provided that the purchaser should be *non unus tantum qui forte consortibus suis gravis ac molestus existat*. This implies that the single powerful *consors* or patron was apt to be overbearing toward his humbler fellow-owners (*M. Gelzer, Studien zur Gesch. der byzant. Verwaltung Aegyptens*, 1909, p. 83). In an earlier law, *C. Theod.* xi. 24. 1, the relation of the patron to the other owners of land in the *κώμη* is termed *consortium*, and patrons who have failed to pay their due share of the village taxes are required to refund this to their fellow

villagers, *vicini quorum consortio recesserant* (cf. Gelzer, *op. cit.* p. 72). In a still earlier inscription (*Syll.*² 418 = *I.G.R.R.* i. 674), the non-resident owner of land in the village of Skaptopara in Thrace, who presented to the emperor a petition on behalf of the villagers, is called their *communicans et compossessor*, while the term *communicans* is applied to ordinary villagers in a law of 415 A.D. for the suppression of patronage in Egypt (*C. Theod.* xi. 24. 6): *ne quisquam eis (metrocomias) vel aliquod in his possidere temptaverit exceptis communicans* (cf. Rostowzew, *Studien z. Gesch. des röm. Kolonates*, p. 388, note 1). These instances show that not only the humble resident villager, but also the non-resident landholder in a *κώμη* was described as *communicans*.

Since Praylios is called 'the partner in the estate,' he must have been the most important, in other words the patron of the *κώμη*. But prudence forbade describing him as such because patronage had long been legally prohibited. That it still existed however in 515 A.D. is proved by the subsequent effort made by Justinian again to abolish it: *C. Just.* xi. 54. 1. From this constitution we learn that patronage had survived under colour (*sub praetextu*) of other transactions, gift, sale, etc., and our inscription would show that among the euphemistic designations of the patron was *ὁ κοινωνός*. The interest of this new technical term is enhanced by the relative rarity of such documents in Asia Minor; cf. Rostowzew, *op. cit.* p. 229.

ὁ κατὰ τόπον means 'in (or of) the estate'; cf. *ὁ κατὰ τόπον μισθωτής* = the lessee of the (imperial) estate; Ramsay *C.B.* i. pp. 272-3, Nos. 192-3 = *I.G.R.R.* iv. 927; *μισθωτής τῶν περὶ Ἀλαστον τόπων*; *ibid.* p. 307, n. 114 = *I.G.R.R.* iv. 894.

Our inscription sheds new light on the monument at Pogle (*Jahreshefte*, iv. 1901, *Beiblatt*, col. 38 = *I.G.R.R.* iii. 409) to a rich Loukianos who had given certain benefactions *ἐτεσιν πολ[ιτείας]* and had also acted as judge, *κρίνοντα τοπικά δικαστήρια ἐτεσιν κοινων[ίας]*. An estate probably containing several villages had here been erected into a *πόλις* (for such creations cf. Chapot, *La prov. rom. d'Asie*, pp. 96-103, Rostowzew, *op. cit.* p. 294, note 2), and the years when there was a civic constitution are contrasted with those in which the estate was administered by *κοινωνοί*. Rostowzew was puzzled by the failure of this Pogle text to mention the office held by Loukianos, and conjectured that he was *μισθωτής* of the estate (*Jahreshefte*, *loc. cit.* col. 44).

This seems correct, but he might also have been called *κοινωνός*, i.e. partner in the *societas* which farmed the Pogle property; as an important lessee he might well preside at the tribunals 'held on the estate' (*τοπικά*).²

² Further research will doubtless reveal many other traces of ownership or tenure by rich men of lands in a *κώμη*. Among such traces, I suspect, we may include the ruinous house of Tit. Claudius Sokrates at Stratonikeia in Lydia (*Syll.*² 387; *R. de Phil.* xxxvii. 1913, p. 300, n. 4), which had pro-

bably belonged to him when he owned lands in the estate (*χῆμα*) out of which Hadrian created the new *πόλις*. From the fact that the emperor disposed of the house we may conjecture that he had bought it with the other holdings of Sokrates, probably with a view to the new foundation, i.e. about 123 A.D.

There, as in Egypt at the same period, *κοινωνία* doubtless denoted a partnership of lessees: cf. M. San Nicolò, *Agypt. Vereinswesen*, I. 1913, pp. 147-152. But the Egyptian testimony of the first and second centuries cannot be applied to a sixth century text such as ours, and there appears to be no evidence for the survival to so late a time of the practice of granting leases to *κοινωνοί*.

We may therefore assume that this term, which in the second century meant the *socii* in a leaseholding partnership, came to denote in the sixth century the *consortes* owning land in a village community.

Lines 3-4. The indiction year began, like the Asian provincial year, on September 23,* 514; Gardthausen *Gr. Paläogr.*² 1911, p. 466. The 15th of Xanthikos = March 8, 515 A.D., which was a Sunday.

A change of dating in the fourth century, A.D., postponed the month Xanthikos to April; Dar.-Saglio *Diet.* i. 829. But there is no proof that this change was observed in Philadelphia.

ἡ(μ)έρα Κυριακή, cf. Ramsay, *C.B.* p. 561, No. 454, where ἡ(ετέρου) Κυρίου is now shown to be a wrong restoration.

Line 5. *συνόδα*. This may denote either the village community—for which *κοινὸν* and *συνόδος* are equivalent terms (Zulueta, *op. cit.* p. 77)—or the assembly of the villagers; cf. *ἀναγόμεναι . . . ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις συνόδοις [κ]ωμητικαῖς [π]ύσαις* (Buresch, *aus Lydien*, p. 38, n. 23). The former sense is here to be preferred, and the dative is probably to be connected, as Professor Bury suggests, with *ἀνελημφθῇ*. We may translate 'to the misfortune (or bereavement) of the community.' . . .

Μύλουκ[ωμητῶν]. This restoration was proposed by Captain J. Keil when I showed him the squeeze of our inscription in June, 1914, at Smyrna. There can be little doubt that this village is identical with the nameless *κώμη* whose petition has been edited by him and A. von Premerstein: K.P. III 28, ll. 5, 6. Mendechora, the modern name of the village where that document and our text were found, is a corruption of Πέντε Χωρία (*ibid.* p. 26), but our initial Μ proves that this was not the ancient name. Now the inscription *C.I.G.* 3420 (= L.B.W. 1669) mentioning ἡ Μυλειτῶν [κα]τωικί(α) was copied by Arundell and Bailie nine miles from Philadelphia on the road to Sardis and thus quite near to Mendechora. It seems probable that this 'Millers' settlement' was known also as the 'Mill village' (Μύλου κώμη) and that its chief industry consisted in grinding the wheat grown in the Kogamos valley. We may note that the petition above mentioned relates to the wrong-doing of *φρουμεντάριοι* and other officials. A similar descriptive name is *Μηλοκώμη*, the 'Apple village'; Körte, *Inscr. Bureschianae*, p. 5, n. 2 (Tschapaklı in Lydia); Ramsay, *C.B.* i. p. 156, n. 64 (Kabalar in Phrygia). The form *Μελοκώμη* would here be quite correct, but as five letters are required to fill the gap, it seems best to restore

Not being used or kept up by Sokrates, the house would naturally have fallen into disrepair by 127, when Hadrian wrote his letter.

* In K.P. I 191 the indiction year is taken as having begun on August 1.

M[υλουκ]ωμητῶν, on the analogy of Δαρειουκωμητῶν, *B.C.H.* ix. 1885, p. 394.

If we accept Rostowzew's hypothesis (*op. cit.* p. 290) that this κώμη was one of the imperial estates near Philadelphia originally possessed by Mark Antony, it is tempting to assume further that the emperors had parted with it prior to the sixth century—perhaps by sale, as in *C. Theod.* v. 16, 34—and that the bishop of Philadelphia had then acquired with the right of patronage a share in its ownership.

For a further note on *καινωτός*, see p. 115.

(9)

(Published.)

Marble slab, now at the residence of the Metropolitan. Top original, broken at sides and bottom. Height, 23 to 30 cm.; width, 43 cm.; thickness, 3.5 cm. Height of letters, 2.2 to 4.5 cm.

Published incorrectly and without epigraphic copy, *Ath. Mitt.* xii. 1887, p. 257, n. 27 = Camont, n. 123; *Mé. d'Arch.* xv. 1895, p. 295.



Ἐ]τους φξ' μηνός

Α]ῶου κζ' ἐκοιμ[ήθη

Πρασίλλιος.

This text, dated A.D. 529/30 (= Actian era 560-31), is reproduced for comparison with n. 8. The name, given as Πρασίλλιος in *Ath. Mitt.*, is the usual variant spelling of Πραῖλλιος.

(10)

Square marble pillar, with broken moulding at bottom, standing in June, 1914, on the south side of the street opposite the south entrance to the Metropolitan's house.

Inscribed on three sides and probably also on the fourth side, which could not be seen because of its nearness to the garden wall bounding the street. My measurements are lost, but according to my recollection the stone stands about four feet high, and each of its sides is about two feet wide. Height of the letters, about 3 inches.



*Αφηλιώτης

On r. side, *Boreas*; on l. side, *Nóros*; at the back, if preserved, must be *Zéφυρος*.

This basis or pedestal, like the stone on which *CLG* 6180 is inscribed, must have been so oriented as to indicate the four points of the compass, and its flat top may have borne a capstone with dial.

The sumptuous inventory of the marble furnishings of a Lydian *ἡρώον* near Tire (*K.P.* III. 117) includes a sundial (*ὥρολόγιον*). Our basis perhaps belonged to such a funerary monument.

(11)

Marble block, formerly owned by the porter Ali-oglu Hussein, sold by him in June, 1914, to Mr. Dedeyan, the station-master of Ala-Shehir. Height (r.), 19 cm.; (l.), 16 cm.; width, 51 cm.; thickness, 13 cm.; smoothly finished on top and at bottom. Height of letters, 1.6 to 4 cm.



*Εκυμνήθη ἡ δούλη τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἀρετὴ
μην(ος) Ἀπριλίου ἰς τὰς ῆ' καὶ ἡ θυ-
γάτερ αὐτῆς Ἀνα μην(ος) Ἰονα-
ρίῳ ἡς τὰς θ'.

For similar lettering and dating cf. *B.C.H.* xxxiii. 1909, p. 84, n. 69; p. 101, n. 87; K.P. II. 201, and with this peculiar spelling of the month of January (l. 3-4) cf. K.P. III. 64: 'Hoávov for 'Iwávov.

The date is probably of the tenth or eleventh century; cf. *C.I.G.* 9264, 9324-29 and particularly the Δ in 9329 (Plate XVI).

GÍOLDE

(12)

Small marble stele with pediment found at Gíolde in 1913, now built into the front of the Greek school. Well preserved, except for a break on the left side.

A votive wreath is carved in low relief above the inscription. Height 61 cm.; width, 40 to 47 cm.; thickness, 8 cm.; height of letters, 2.4 cm.



Ἔτους ρηθ', μη(νός) Δύστρου
 ε' ἀ(πιόντος) Σωτήρ Μητρά Διεί Με-
 γήιστω κατὰ παράστασιν
 μεγάλην εὐχαριστι-
 σκῇ
 δ' ἐρχή ἀνέθηκα.

Date by Sullan era: 109 - 85 = 114/15 A.D.

The retrograde *sigma* is found quite often in Lydia and at Smyrna (K.P. II. 136, III. 165), also at Maroneia and Amphipolis in Thrace (*B.C.H.* v. 1881, p. 92, xviii. 1894, p. 425). For the initial of ἀ(πιόντος) placed over the figure representing the day of the month, cf. *I. v. Pergamon* 554; K.P. II. 218; Buresch, *aus Lydien*, p. 16, n. 13 line 28.

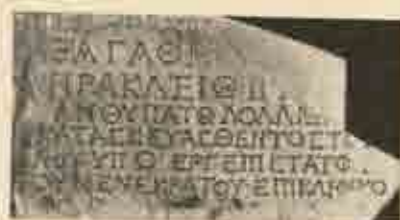
παράστασις must here mean that Zeus had acted as παραστάτης. Though this latter word is not rare (cf. Kaibel, *Epigr.* 790, 807), παράστασις in the sense of 'assistance' occurs only in the very late *C.I.G.* 8716: δι' ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ παραστάσεως Νικολαίου.

On the custom of representing wreaths upon votive stelae, cf. K.P. II. pp. 84-5.

N. SIDE OF HERMOS VALLEY.

(13)

Marble slab found at Porias-damlarti, a small village on the N. edge of the Hermos Valley opposite Salikhli. Owned by Hafaz-oglu Achmet, who said it had been discovered there in 1911. Copy and squeeze taken in May, 1913. Height, 30 cm.; width, 50 cm.; thickness, 6 cm. Height of letters in l. 1, 3 cm.; in l. 2, 3.2 cm.; in other lines, 2.2 to 2.5 cm. Left side intact, the other sides broken.



Ἀγαθῇ [Τύχῃ,
Ἡρακλεῖ, Ὁπ[ι] Ἀρτέμιδι (?)
ἀνθυπᾶτω Λαλλίῳ [Παυλείῳ, (?)
κατασκευασθέντος τοῦ περιβό-
λου ὑπὸ ἐργεπιστάτου . . .
5 αὐ Μενεκράτου ἐπικλήν Κο . . .

In l. 2, the last letter may be I, P or T; the letter preceding this, though its top has vanished, is certainly Π. In l. 7 the fragmentary letters appear to differ in style from those of ll. 1-6.

The conspicuous lettering of the first two lines suggests that they contain a dedication to the divine being or beings round whose shrine the περιβόλος had been built. But the object of this dedication is doubtful, and the restoration of l. 2 merely shows what appears to me to be the probable context.

1. The goddess Opis Artemis has not yet figured in the epigraphy of Asia Minor, though she is said to have been honoured at Ephesos (Macrob. Sat. v. 22. 4). But where the cult of the Mother Goddess was so much in vogue as in Lydia, her worship under the name of Opis (Roscher, Lex. iii. 1, 927) is by no means improbable. Two points which make this theory plausible are (1) that the alternative interpretations mentioned below are open to objection; (2) that Opis Artemis thus forms a triad² with Agathe Tyche and Herakles, deities well suited to be grouped with her. In Lydia, the realm of Omphale, the indigenous cult of Herakles was widespread (Buresch, *aus Lydien*, pp. 40-1), while that of Agathe Tyche was popular throughout the Roman world of this period. At Dorylaeion dedications to Herakles and to the Mother Goddess have been found together (*J.H.S.* viii. 1887, p. 504). At Erythrae, in the third century B.C., three priesthoods, the sales of which are mentioned consecutively (*Syll.*³ 600, ll. 86-9) were those of Herakles, of Agathe Tyche, and of Demeter.

The following versions of the 2nd line are possible, but seem to me

² I infer a triad, partly because of the uniformity in script of ll. 1-2, partly because trade were then in fashion. On a second

century carnelian gem bought by me in Smyrna Serapis is represented standing between Agathe Tyche and Demeter.

less probable than that given above. 2. The dedication may be to Herakles, bearing an epithet beginning with $\Omega\text{Π}$ It is not likely that this was (a) an unknown *local* epithet, because ethnics and demotics, such as were borne, e.g., by Zeus, Artemis or Apollo, were never, so far as I know, assigned to Herakles. Nor was it probably (b) a *descriptive* epithet (e.g., 'H. ὀπλοφύλαξ, Μουσείον, 1884-5, p. 85, n. 274; 'H. καλλίνεικος, *ib.* 1886, p. 93, n. 267) because no suitable adjective beginning with those two letters suggests itself. It may have been (c) a *personal* epithet, e.g., 'Hρακλῆς Ὀππιανός, like the 'Hρακλῆς Διομεδόντειος (*Syll.*² 734) who was the patron god of an association founded by Diomedon. But while a mere reference to the god might have mentioned him as 'the Herakles of Oppius' (cf. Ὀππιανός in *C.I.G.* 8853), it seems very doubtful whether a formal dedication addressed to the god could have been couched in such familiar terms. The theory of an epithet $\Omega\text{Π}$. . . coupled with the name of Herakles is therefore questionable. 3. The object may have been a heroized man, and l. 2 may have read (e.g.):

'Hρακλείω Π[ρόκλω] ἥρωι.

Elaborate tombs with their buildings and enclosures were not uncommon in Lydia (e.g. K.P. III 117), but ll. 3-5 seem to show that this was a public enclosure, such as that of a temple, and not that of a private monument. The *ἐργεπιστάτης* of a public building often recorded his labours in the phrases here used, but I can find no instance of this being done in connexion with a private structure such as a tomb.

Line 3. The proconsul whose name is here restored was M. Lollius Paullinus Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus, who held office about 120 A.D.; Waddington, *Fastes*, n. 127; Chapot, *La prov. rom. d'Asie*, p. 313; *Prosop.* *I.R.* ii. p. 296, n. 233. But since in other inscriptions his abbreviated name is Valerius Asiaticus we cannot be sure that he was ever called Lollius Paullinus, and the restoration Παυλείνω is therefore doubtful. An inscription from Smyrna, *R.C.H.* vi. 1882, p. 291, mentions a proconsul Δόλλιος Λαυεῖτος, whom Waddington identifies with L. Hedius Bufus Lollianus Avitus (*Prosop.* *I.R.* ii. p. 127, n. 26), but though our upright *siglum* following Δολλίω slopes slightly to the right it can scarcely belong to an *alpha*, nor should we venture to assume that *Lollianus* was here again rendered by Δολλίω. If our name is not that of Lollius Paullinus, it is probably that of a proconsul otherwise unknown.

The only epigraphic mention in Lydia of the name of a proconsul resembling ours is in *Ath. Mitt.* xxv. 1900, p. 122 (from Urganlı, not far from Sardis) where the proper restoration would seem to be 'Ε[γνατίω] Δολλ[ιανῶ].

Line 6. *ἐπίκλην* is said by Sir W. M. Ramsay to be specially characteristic of Christian inscriptions (*C.B.* i. p. 522, n. 364; p. 539, n. 400; p. 547, note 5), but our text does not appear to be of Christian origin, and *ἐπίκλην* is merely equivalent to *ἐπικαλούμενον* (*O.G.I.* 603, 10) or τοῦ καὶ . . .

(14)

Marble slab at Porias-damları, owned by Holandja Bedeli Ibrahim. In May, 1913, this had been built face downward into a corner of his new house, but as the wall had been only completed to a height of three feet above the stone it was easily removed with the kind consent of the owner. Height, 68 cm.; width 33 to 35 cm.; thickness, 8 cm. Height of letters, 1·8 to 2·7 cm. Fairly intact on left side, at top and at bottom, but right side broken.



Μνημεῖον Ζῳσι-
μος Καρπίμη [Ελ-
ουσία τῇ συμβί-
ω μνείας χάριν.

χαῖρε.

The rare name *Καρπίμη* has been found at Daldiz: K.P. I. 137. The letters engraved above the wreath appear to be without meaning.

(15)

Marble slab at Porias-damları in the stone-paved floor of the house of Hadji Moussa-oglu Mustafa. Top and left side original, right side and bottom broken away. Height, 31·5 cm.; width 26 cm.; thickness unknown. Height of letters, 1·3 to 1·5 cm. They are much worn.

On left side three parallel mouldings and the wing of a *tabula ansata*.



Ἔτους τεγ' [μηνὸς . . .
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μέναι(δρος)
Ἀπελλία[ρῆ] ?
ας χαμε . . .

5 τεκούσ[η] ?
τεκούσση
τῇ τε
λος τ . . .
λης αὐ . . .
10 με

Date, probably by the Sullan era, 238/9 A.D. The last letter in L. 4 is not N, but almost certainly E. This suggests as restoration *χαρίε[σσα]* and makes it probable that there was an epitaph in verse.

MERMERE AND DISTRICT

(16)

Marble stele found in 1912, copied by me soon afterwards, at Mermere. I photographed it in the absence of the owner, whose name I failed to ascertain.

Height, 105 cm.; width, 38 to 44 cm.; thickness, 10 to 12 cm. Height of letters, 2.2 to 2.5 cm.



Φουρία Γαίω τῷ νι-
 ῳ, Φίλιππος καὶ Χά-
 ρης καὶ Στρατονέ (ἵ-
 κη τῷ ἀδελφῷ, Μό-
 5 σχιον τῷ δαίρι, Ἀπ-
 ολλώνιος ὁ γαν-
 βρος, Γαίος καὶ Ἀπ-
 ολλώνιος τῷ μήτ-
 ρωνι, Δαμάς τῷ συν-
 10 τρόφῳ ἐποίησαν
 μίαντες χάριν.

A good specimen of that class of funerary inscription which, as Rades puts it, 'est rédigée comme une lettre de faire part' (*B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 449, n. 10).

For the spelling *δαίρι* instead of *δαίρι*, cf. Buresch, *aus Lydien*, p. 116, n. 55.

Two utensils, to the left a slim jar, to the right a covered vase, are incised in outline beside the wreath at the top. On this custom in Lydia, see the instances cited by K.P. I. 153; II. 135.

(17)

Marble slab formerly built into the abandoned fountain to the east of the old baths of Sofular-mahalessi at Mermere. In May, 1913, I had it removed from the fountain and sent to the office of the Mudir, who agreed to preserve it.

Height, 60 cm.; width, 34 cm.; thickness, 5 cm. Height of letters, 2 to 2.3 cm. Top, bottom, and left side fairly well preserved, right side broken.



Ἐ]τους σινθ', μη(νὸς) Δ[είου (?)

Ἐρμόθης Κλαυ[δία

τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναι[κί

καὶ Μητρῷ τῷ ἀδελφῷ

5 καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ οἱ υἱοῖ

αὐτῶν μνείας χ[αίρειν.

χαῖρε.

Date by the Sullan era, 174/5 A.D., by the Actian, 231/2 A.D. Which of these is correct we do not know, nor has the ancient name of Mermere yet been discovered: cf. K.P. I. p. 61.

The name Ἐρμόθης, which appears to be new, is the shortened form of Ἐρμόθεος; cf. Ἐξάκης—Ἐξακεστος, Fick-Bechtel, *Griech. Personennamen*, p. 16. Ἐρμόθεος is itself a rare name, found only in Ionia, at Teos, *C.I.G.* 3081-82-89, and at Kolophon, *Μουσείον*, 1886, p. 90, n. φπα'; *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 39, n. 24.

(18)

Short square marble column, much stained as if by weather, at Tehenli (=Teheni; K.P. I 119-120) in the house of Hadji Ali Mehmet. On it, in low relief, a draped figure, much worn and battered, holding a staff on which a snake is coiled. This figure stands on a slightly projecting plinth which bears the inscription. The owner, unexpectedly coming home, destroyed the squeeze that I was taking, but a copy with measurements had already been made, and this sketch from my note-book gives a fair idea of the monument. Height, 56 cm.; width, 24 cm.; thickness, 24 cm.



Εἰητρός | παρ' ἀνὴρ | πολλῶν | ἀνταξίος | ἄλλων.

Line borrowed from *Iliad*, xi. 514, in which γάρ has been replaced by παρ' in the sense of 'here stands' . . . The letters are square in cross-section and deeply cut, so that the reading seems to me certain. This line must have been a favourite 'tag.' Another variation occurs at Naples: ἐνθάδε κείται ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιός ἄλλων; Kaibel, *Epigr.* 600.

The relief shows that this was a dedication to Asklepios, who at Thyateira, a few miles to the north of Tehenli, was worshipped and honoured with games; Clerc-Zakas, *περὶ τῶν τῆς π. Θυατείρων πραγματείᾳ*, p. 96; *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. cxxix. But except at Thyateira (K.P. II. 21), inscriptions testifying to the cult of Asklepios are rare in Lydia (cf. *Class. Rev.* xix. 1905, p. 370, n. 5; K.P. II. 203) though the god often appears on Lydian coins. This column is said to have been found not far from Tehenli, among architectural fragments which may have belonged to a local sanctuary of Asklepios.

(10)

Marble stele in excellent preservation lying, in 1913, in the farmyard of Mustafa-oglu Ali at Uzanja, one hour west of Mermere. Top of pediment slightly damaged.

Height with pediment, 140 cm.; width below pediment, 43.5 cm.; at bottom, 53 cm.; thickness, 11 cm. A dowel for insertion in a socket projects 13 cm. at bottom.

The stele is said to have been found near Uzanja, and a stone so heavy and so easy to break is unlikely to have been carried far. Height of letters: 1.2 to 1.4 cm.



ὁ δῆ-
μος

Διακλῆν Διοκλείου, Νεικαστ(ρ)ατον
Διοκλείου.

Date: first century, B.C. The δῆμος is probably that of the unknown city which preceded the modern Mermere.

GÜRİME.

(20)

Marble slab in the mosque at Güridje (cf. K.P. II. 10-13). As it lies in the pavement partly supporting one of the uprights of the stairs, a few letters are hidden. Copied and squeeze taken by me in 1912. Height, 96 cm.; width, 52 cm. Height of letters, 3.2 to 3.5 cm.



*Αρ[τ]εμῶς
 *Αρτ[εμῶ]
 τῶ πα[τ]ρί,
 καὶ *Αρτε-
 5 μιδώρα
 ἡ σύμβις
 μνείας ἔνεκον.

On the form *σύμβις* cf. K.P. II. 103, 132, 152; Buresch, *aus Lydien*, p. 73. *ἔνεκον* is unusual; for instances and explanation see K.P. II. pp. 63, 159.

THYATEIRA.

(21)

Marble block in the village of Morali-damları, near Ak-hussar. Squeeze made by a friend in 1914. Original not seen by me. Height, 80 cm.; width, 55 cm.; thickness, 50 cm. Height of letters, 1.8 to 2.5 cm. The text is said to be complete, and the gaps shown on the squeeze are due to its having been made in a strong wind.



ἡ] βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος [ἔτει-
 μῆσεν Αὐρ[εμῶν] *Αρτεμίδ[ω]-
 ρ[ον] *Αρτεμιδώρου ἀγα[νο]-
 θετήσαντα τοῦ προ-
 5 πάτορο[ς] θεοῦ *Απόλ-
 λωνος Τύρμι[νον] ἐνδ[ύ]-
 ξας καὶ [π]ολυδαπάνω[ς]
 καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ θέμ[α]-
 10 τα παρασχόμενον, δ[ε]-
 κατρωτεύσαντα τῇ γλ[υ]-
 κνῆτι πατρίδι.

We have records of the two brothers, sons of Menelaus, who about 150 A.D. were the first agonothetes of these games in honour of Τύρμιμος (*R. de Phil.* xxvii. 1913, pp. 308-9) and the names of five other agonothetes are collected by K.P. II. p. 34. To this list Αὐρ. *Αρτεμίδωρος may now be added. His date must be after 212 A.D.

Line 5. *Απόλλων Τύρμιμος had a temple outside Thyateira, for he is

also called ὁ πρὸ πόλεως 'A.T.: *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 464, n. 29. His most elaborate title is τοῦ προπάτορος θεοῦ Ἡλίου Πυθίου Τυριμναίου Ἀπόλλωνος; *ibid.* p. 101, n. 24.

Line 8. τὰ θέμ[α]τα. The giving of such prizes was not among the ordinary duties of the agonothele; cf. *R. de Phil.* xxxvii. 1913, p. 325.

HIEROKAISAREIA.

(22)

Marble block near the road from Arpaltū to Beyoba at a place called Satalminu-kuyu. Squeeze taken in 1914 by a friend from Ak-hissar. Original not seen by me; I do not know whether the letters not shown on the squeeze are actually missing on the stone.

Height, 120 cm.; width, 90 cm.; thickness, 75 cm. Height of letters, 3 cm.; space between letters, 1.8 cm.



- Ἀγ[αθ]ῇ Τύχη.
Τὰ με[γ]άλα Σε-
βαστὰ Ἀρτεμεί-
σια νεκὰ Αὐρ(ῆλιος)
5 Φίλιππος β' Ἱε-
ροκαίσαρεὺς
τὸν ἀν[ε]βριάντα
ἀναστήσαντος
Αὐρ(ῆλιος) Διονυσίου β'
10 τοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου.

This inscription on the statue-base of a winner at the Σεβαστὰ Ἀρτεμείσια is the fourth complete one so far discovered.

The three others are the following: (1) *Μουσείον*, 1886, p. 35, n. φιδ' = *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 96, n. 18; (2) Körte, *Inscr. Bureschianae*, p. 13, n. 15; (3) *ibid.* p. 14, n. 16. The agonothele Αὐρ. Διονύσιος β', evidently the same as ours, erects a statue to Αὐρ. Κατίων, and the games are called τὰ μεγάλα Ἀρτεμείσια.

Two fragmentary texts of the same kind are (4) K.P. I. 114; (5) *Μουσείον*, 1886, p. 42, n. φκβ', restored K.P. I. p. 57.

With the exception of (2) and (5), these agnostic inscriptions all appear to belong like ours to the third century A.D. This would indicate that these games in honour of the 'Persian' Artemis (Radet, *R. ét. anc.* x. 1908, p. 157) were then at the height of their popularity.

The present tense νεκὰ seems to preserve the actual formula in which the athlete's victory was announced to the spectators. It is unusual except in the texts from Hierokaisareia above mentioned, but it occurs also at Tralleis: *Μουσείον*, 1884-5, p. 80, n. εη' = *Ath. Mitt.* x. 1885, p. 278.

(23)

Marble block, situated not far from Selendi, 'on the road thence to Sasoba, at a place called Kais-kuyu.' Squeeze and details furnished by a friend at Ak-hissar, 1914.

Height, 75 cm.; width 70 cm.; thickness, 35 cm.

Present length of inscription, 42.5 cm. Height of letters, 3.2 cm.



Βασιλέα Φίλιππου
ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

This interesting inscription was not found by Keil and v. Premerstein when they visited the district (K.P. I. p. 53), and as no epigraphic copy has yet been published, this squeeze is here reproduced. The first and most complete publication is that of Fentrier (*Mouv.* 1886, p. 39, n. φη'), who gives also a fragmentary text engraved on another face of the same block. From a squeeze supplied by Fentrier it was published by Foucart (*B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 104, n. 25), whose attribution of the monument to Philip V. of Macedonia is generally accepted.

Schuchhardt (*Ath. Mitt.* xiii. 1888, p. 7) suggests as date the year 201 B.C. when Philip made himself feared at Pergamon, and this view is adopted by Niese, *Gesch. der gr. u. mak. Staaten*, ii. p. 584, note 5; cf. also Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 2, p. 464.

This is one of the few epigraphic memorials of Philip's connexion with Asia Minor.⁶ It may perhaps also be the earliest record of the city named in imperial times Hierokaisarea; cf. K.P. I. p. 53. But in view of the moderate size of the stone, there is no difficulty in supposing it to have been brought from Thyateira. A large stone monument certainly belonging to that city has been found at a short distance from Selendi: *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 104, n. 26.

The style of lettering, and particularly the καί, are characteristic of a period much more recent than 201 B.C., but we may assume that in this, as in many other cases, the inscription was re-engraved in later times; cf. *Ath.*

⁶ The others are: *I. v. Priene* 37 (= *I.R.M.* 1904, pp. 345-6, nos. 1-2 (Stratonikeia). See 403), II. 137-8, but see Nachtrag, p. 309; *I.R.M.* 441, I. 92 (Issos); *B.C.H.* xxviii.

Mitt. xxvii. 1902, p. 48-54, n. 71 (= *O.G.I.* 483) and *I.B.M.* 1042, both of which are copies of much earlier texts. For the re-engraving of an honorary inscription, cf. *B.C.H.* xxxiii, 1909, p. 479, n. 6.

NEAR GYGAEAN LAKE.

(24)

(Published.)

Marble stele, of which two fragments (α , β) are built into the fountain *Su-utlu-tchesme*, situated half a mile north of the village of Balık-iskelessi, on the caravan road running between the south side of the *Mermere-göl* (*Γρυαία λίμνη*) and the tumuli of the 'Lydian kings.' Though the edges of these fragments do not fit together, the fact that they belong to the same stele is proved by their width—the original sides of both being preserved—and by the identity of their lettering. Their thickness cannot now be ascertained.

Fragment α = *C.I.G.* 3468 = *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 446, n. 2.

" β = *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 445, n. 1.

When copied by Radet the stones were in different positions from those which they now occupy. α is now placed as an ornament in the central arch of the fountain; β is one of the slabs used in the upper part of the structure. When the *C.I.G.* copy was made, a few letters in l. 7 appear to have been better preserved than they now are. α , height with pediment, 60 cm.; width, 48 cm.; β , height, 46 cm.; width, 48 cm. Height of letters, 2.2 to 2.8 cm.



α	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 5 \\ 10 \end{array} \right.$	$\begin{array}{l} \text{Ἀντίοχος Ἀντίοχου—} \\ \text{εἰαὶ Θράσων ὁ πατὴρ εἰα—} \\ \text{ιτῶν—Θράσωνι καὶ Ἀντι—} \\ \text{όχῳ τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ τέχν—} \\ \text{οῖς τοῖς δυστυχέσι(ι) πα—} \\ \text{ρ' ὧν χάριν μὴ λαβὼν μὴ—} \\ \text{δ} \text{ [δοῦ(ς), ἐθ]ῶν [δε] ἐς τὴν [π.] } \\ \text{[ατρίδα πίστιν ἐπιδείξ—]} \\ \text{[ἀμενος, ἐ]ποίησε μὴ(ια—} \\ \text{ς ἐνέκα. ἀνθυπάτου } \\ \text{Σιλβανῶ μην(νός) Ξανδίκου } \\ \text{γι' } \end{array} $
		β

The mistakes are many: *ἐαυτῶν* (l. 2) for *αὐτῶν*; *τοῖς* (l. 4); *δυστυ-χῆσι(ι)* for *δυστυχέσι* (l. 5); *ἐθ]ῶν* for *ἡθ]ῶν* (l. 7); *ἀνθυπάτου* for the dative; besides which *δοῦ(ς)* in l. 7 appears from the *C.I.G.* copy to have had its *sigma* omitted.

The former readings of l. 7 are as follows:—

C.I.G. ΔΕΔΟΥΣΘΩΝΑΤΙΣΤΗΝΓ

B.C.H. ΛΕΔ · ΕΩΩΝΑΕΙΣΤΗΝΠ

The point under a letter indicates that it has been adopted in the foregoing text.

The conjectural restoration of ll. 8, 9 is made in order to show the general sense of the passage beginning with *παρ' ὧν* (l. 5), and to suggest the probability that only one line was destroyed by the breaking of the stone.

The meaning of ll. 5-9 seems to be that Antiochos had made this memorial to his sons not as an expression of their gratitude to him, nor of his to them, but as public evidence of their loyalty to their native city.

As Boeckh points out, the words *καὶ Θράσων . . . ἑαυτῶν* (l. 2-3) are parenthetic, so that Ἀντίοχος is the subject of ἐποίησε.

The restoration [δοῦ(ς)] is certain, not only because formerly copied, but because it is the correct antithesis to λαβόν.

[πατρίδα] is scarcely less certain, since it constantly occurs with such words as ἀρετή, εὐνοία, πίστις, etc. The phrasing of ll. 7-9 probably resembled that on the tomb of a Sardinian lady: *διὰ . . . τῶν ἡθῶν ἦν ἐπ[ε]δε[ξ]ατο ἐν τῷ βίῳ φύσιν μὲν ἑαυ[τῆς] πίστιν δὲ προγόνων.* (L.B.W. 626).

In l. 8 *ἐπίδειξ*— is restored, because in the space between the sigla representing Ε and Δ the stone shows what appear to be the bases of Π.

The reading *μ[ι]α* is assured by the remains of Α preserved at the end of l. 9. Radet's restoration *μ[η]μη* must be rejected.

L. 11. This proconsul may, as Radet suggests, be identical with the Σιλβάρης mentioned on Pergamene coins of the Augustan period, M. Plautius Silvanus (pro-consul about 4-5 A.D. (Waddington, *Fastes*, n. 64; *Prosop. I.R.* iii, p. 46, n. 361; v. Fritze, *Münzen v. Perg.* 1910, pp. 79, 92). But as the lettering appears to be later than the beginning of the first century, our dating more probably refers to Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, proconsul under Nero about 54 A.D. (Waddington, n. 85; *Prosop. I.R.* iii, p. 47, n. 363; Chapot, *Prov. rom. d'Asie*, p. 315).

SMYRNA.

(25)

Marble block, found at Boudja in 1913 on the property of Demetrios Kechayas, tobacco-grower, where this squeeze was taken by a friend of mine in 1914. I have not seen the stone. Height, 43½ cm.; width, 28 to 32 cm.; thickness, 17 cm. Height of letters, 2 to 2·8 cm.

Broken on right side and at bottom; the left side shows a moulding in the form of a *tabula ansata*.



- Ἀνδρ(ήλιος) Διονύσιος Πο-
 λυδεύκου [Σμυρναῖ- (?)
 ος ἀ]γ[οράσ]ας τὸ ἥρῳον
 καὶ τὰ ἐνσώρια καὶ τὴν
 5 ἐπικεμένην σορὸν Προ-
 κονησίαν κατεσκεύασεν
 ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ κληρονόμῳ
 Ἀνδρ(ήλιῳ) Σωκράτει, μηδενὸς
 ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν αὐ-
 10 τῶν ἀποστ[εθ]ῆναι μηδέν·
 εἰ δέ τις θελήσει ἀπαλλο-
 τριῶσαι δῶσει τῇ Μητρὶ θε-
 ῳ ἢ Σιπυληνῇ * . . .

Line 5. Large supplies of Prokonnesian marble must have been brought to Smyrna through the Dardanelles, for it was a favourite material in the construction of Smyrniote tombs; cf. *C.I.G.* 3268, 3282, *I.B.M.* 1026, *Ath. Mitt.* xii, 1887, p. 248, n. 7. The marble-quarries of Phokaia competed in this market with those of Prokonnesos. E.g. *Βωμός Φωκαϊκός*; *O.G.I.* 583; στρώσιν Φωκαϊκὴν καὶ Προκοννησίαν; *Μουσείον*, 1876-8, p. 37, n. σμῆ.

L. 13. Though three letters only—plus the top of the Ω—are clear on the squeeze, the restoration is certain. Fines payable to the temple of this goddess are often prescribed in Smyrniote inscriptions; cf. *C.I.G.* 3260, 3287, 3385-87, 3411; *Μουσείον*, 1878-80, p. 129, n. 168; 1884-5, p. 29, n. 255; p. 32, n. 262; p. 84, n. 273. In *B.C.H.* xxxvii, 1913, p. 243, n. 50: θεᾷ Σιπυληνῇ.

The fact that Σιπυληνῇ was the correct epithet of the Mother Goddess at Smyrna—Σμυρναϊκῇ is applied to her only once, and in verse: *Μουσείον*, 1878-80, p. 128, n. 166 = *B.C.H.* iii, 1879, p. 328—suggests that the Lydian *Sivrai-* (*Sardis* vi, 1, 1916, pp. 15, 49), a local epithet of Artemis, means 'of Sipylos,' and has no connexion with the name of Smyrna. From *Sivrai-* to *Sipylos-* is an easy change, and *b* was in Lydian not distinguished from *p*. Mount Sipylos is a conspicuous and imposing object as seen from the plain below Sardis.

(26)

(Published.)

Marble stele in church of Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης at Boudja, said to have been found in 1876. The squeeze was made in 1914 by the same friend who made that of No. 25. The stone not seen by me. Height in centre of pediment, 1.02 m.; width at top, 36 cm.; at bottom, 43 cm.; thickness, 6 cm. Height of letters, 1.1 to 1.5 cm. Published in *Μουσείον* 1876-8, p. 45, n. σξε'.



Πυθίωνα
Ζωτίωνος

Ζωτίωνα
Ἀρτεμιδώρου

ὁ δῆμος

The Π has legs of unequal length; the cross-bar of the Α is curved.

Πυθίων was a fairly common name at Smyrna; cf. Διονύσιος Πυθίωνος, Μουσείον, 1873-5, p. 84, n. 59, Ἀπελλίων Πυθίωνος *ibid.* 1884-5, p. 4, n. 204. Ζωτίων, a somewhat unusual name, occurs often at Priene; *I. von Priene*, index.

Probable date: about 100 B.C.

KULA.

(27)

(Published.)

Small marble stele, much worn and stained and with top broken away, carefully preserved in a Greek house at Kula. A seated figure of the Mother Goddess, with a lion on each side of her, occupies a niche, now 15 cm. high, below which is a plinth 10 cm. high bearing the inscription. The head and shoulders of the goddess are missing. Height, 25 cm.; width, 23 to 27 cm.; thickness, 9 cm. The original height with pediment may have been about 40 cm. Height of letters, 1.1 to 1.8 cm. Published I.B.W. 699.



Ποῦ[φι]λον Θεο[τ]είμον
ἐλεύθερος Μητρο[ί]
Ὁρῆα εὐχῆν.

The first three words are restored by Waddington as Πού[φος] Θεοτείμο[ν] ἄ[π]ἐλεύθερος, but from the look of the stone and the alignment of the

three lines it seems improbable that any letters have been lost at the end of l. 1 or the beginning of l. 2. 'Ελευθερος may be a second name of Που[φί]ων. Such double names are not uncommon in Lydia (see several examples in K.P. iii. 10) and for 'Ελευθερος as a proper name cf. C.I.G. 4294. But in view of the frequency with which *ἱεροί*, i.e. persons under some obligation to temple service, mention this fact in connexion with their names (cf. Ramsay, C.B. i. p. 147, n. 38, pp. 151-2, nos. 45, 49, 51; K.P. ii. p. 99, J.H.S. x. 1889, p. 225, n. 17), it is not improbable that Που[φί]ων may have wished to emphasize his freedom from such obligation. I have therefore taken 'Ελευθερος to be an adjective.

The restoration Που[φί]ων is the most likely (cf. B.C.H. xi. 1887, p. 470, n. 37, Μουρέϊον, 1878-80, p. 155), but Που[σ]ων is also possible; cf. R. et. gr. viii. 1905, p. 86, n. 33 = B.C.H. xxxiii. 1909, p. 57, n. 64.

W. H. BUCKLER.

AMERICAN EMBASSY, LONDON.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON NO. 8 (pp. 95 ff.).

The following note, which throws light on another type of *κατωρός*, is a *précis* by Professor W. M. Calder of several pages from Kaerger, *Kleinasiens ein deutsches Kolonisationsfeld*, 1892, pp. 24 f.: 'The larger Turkish estates in Anatolia have part of their land worked by labourers hired by the year (*bekyar*) who get 700-800 piastres a year and their keep. Day labourers are hired in addition at harvest time. Another part of the land is handed over to "partners" (*ortakji*, Fr. *associés*, Gr. *κοιτωροί*) who receive from the landlord buildings, implements, seed, and, according as they cultivate 50 or 100 *dönüm* of land, one or two pairs of oxen. After deduction of the tithe they divide the crops with the landlord.' Professor Calder, in kindly forwarding this note, remarks: 'Coming into Asia Minor as warrior shepherds and settling down in a highly organized agricultural country, the Turks must have taken over the Graeco-Anatolian system of land tenure as it stood.'

This method of 'farming on shares'—to use an American phrase—seems to me, however, quite different from the *κατωρία* of our text.

I wish also to express my indebtedness to Sir W. M. Ramsay and Mr. J. G. C. Anderson for advice connected with this subject.

A PRE-PERSIC RELIEF FROM COTTENHAM.

[PLATE I.]

EARLY in the year 1911 a labourer working on the farm of Mr. Arthur Bull at Cottenham, near Cambridge, struck with his pick the fragmentary relief here published. Mr. Bull—to whom we are already indebted for much information and assistance in respect of the Romanised British stations in his district, not to mention many points in its more recent history—recognised at once the possible interest of the find and handed it over to me at the Museum of Classical Archaeology. The fragment came to light at a depth of some eighteen inches below the present surface of the soil, and appears to be an isolated relic, thrown out in all probability from a house formerly existing in the neighbourhood. I see from a passage in Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, to which my attention was directed by the Rev. Dr. H. P. Stokes, that Roger Gale, the antiquary (1672–1744), inherited a manor at Cottenham in 1728.¹ His enthusiasm for 'Greek and Roman bustoes' is well known;² and it is at least possible that this relief, acquired by him or some other owner, had at some later date, and by some less instructed owner, been cast away as a broken and worthless bit of marble. Be that as it may, the relief is worthy of serious study. I proceed to describe its material, shape, design, and stylistic qualities.

Prof. T. McKenny Hughes, who has throughout taken a keen and helpful interest in the find, made a minute examination of the slab from a mineralogical point of view. He tells me that in his opinion it is a piece of white Pentelic marble from an inferior bed; I had judged it to be Hymettian. In any case it is of Attic provenance. The surface is, on the whole, well preserved, though here and there—notably on the background between the heads of horse and man—it exhibits a tendency to flake off.

The dimensions are as follows:—

Breadth at top	20.7 cm.
Greatest breadth	30.15 "
Greatest height	28.4 "
Height of moulding	4.25 "
Greatest depth of relief	c. 6.0 "
Thickness	c. 4.0 "

¹ D. Lysons and S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, London, 1808, vol. II. Pt. I (Cambridgeshire), p. 171. The Cambridge University Library possesses an extra-illustrated copy of this work, containing much additional in-

formation about Cottenham and its history.

² See the 'Reliquiae Galeanae' = *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, London, 1781–1782, No. II. Pts. 1–3.

The top and the left-hand side of the slab are worked smooth. The right-hand side was originally smooth, but is partially broken away—the break extending across to the opposite side and forming the lower limit of the relief. The two sides are convergent and, if prolonged upwards, would ultimately meet. It must, however, be remarked that there is a circular dowel-hole (3.35 cm. deep) in the right-hand side, the present aspect of which, together with a restored section of the moulding, is given in Fig. 1. From these data it seems clear (1) that the original shape of the slab was a comparatively narrow trapezoid, like that of the lower compartment on the *stèle* from the Themistoclean wall published by Noack;² (2) that the surface thus provided, being too small for the sculptor's design, was enlarged by the addition of a piece on the right, the whole no doubt retaining a trapezoidal shape as was customary, e.g., with the foot-panel of early Attic funeral *stélai*;³ and (3) that the extant portion is the upper left-hand quarter of the completed relief. A diagram (Fig. 2) will make the matter plain. These inferences are confirmed by a first glance at the subject portrayed. The blank space to the left presupposes a corresponding blank to the right; and it is obvious that the figures represented were continued downwards to the ground.

The design shows an *éphēbos* leading his horse. The young man appears to be entirely nude; and it cannot at once be assumed that a *chlamys*

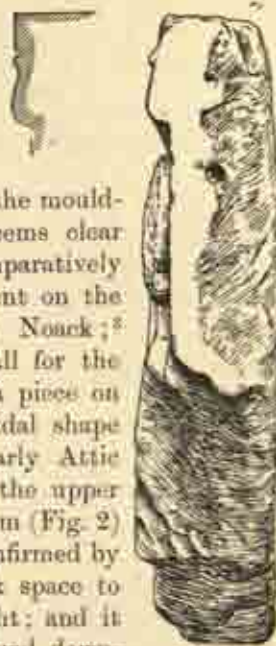


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

² F. Noack in the *Arch. Mitth.* 1907, xxxii. 514 ff., Pl. 21.

³ G. Loeschcke, 'Altattische Grabsteine,' in the *Arch. Mitth.* 1879, iv. 36 ff., Pl. 1 (painted side of Lyseas), Pl. 2, 2 and 3 (painted frag-

ments); A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin, 1890, i. 3 f., Pl. 1 (Lyseas), i. 8, Pl. 9, 1 (Barracco fragment), i. 8, Pl. 9, 2 (painted fragment).

passing over his shoulders and meeting in front was added in colour. For, though we must admit² that plastic forms were constantly coloured, that carving was often eked out by colour, and that accessories might be added in colour on a flat background, yet the painting of garments, etc., athwart bodies already existing in relief constitutes a somewhat different problem.³ The leader walks on the near side of his horse with the weight of his body thrown back to curb its restive paces. His right arm, stretched out to its full extent, keeps a tight hold on the bridle, which—as is indicated by three small holes (two touching the man's hand, one in the angle of the horse's mouth)—was added in bronze. His left arm probably held a short stick (cp. Fig. 10). The horse tosses its head and champs the bit, impatient of restraint. The whole is an admirably spirited rendering of a young Athenian warrior as he would wish to be remembered. Athena, all the world knew, was εὐειπρος, and her hardy sons had as much right as Hektor to the heroic title ἐπρόδαμος.

The relief is manifestly archaic in style—witness the isocephalic arrangement of man and horse, the combination of face in profile with body in full view, the updrawn lips, the roundish ear,⁴ the absence of all foreshortening. The eye is not clearly marked, the surface of the marble being here damaged. The musculature is on the whole remarkably accurate. Dr. W. L. H. Duckworth, University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology and Senior Demonstrator of Human Anatomy, has kindly supplied me with the following criticisms. The trapezius and deltoid muscles are correctly given. The sternomastoid on the man's left side is not strongly marked—a pardonable fault. The margin of the great pectoral muscle as it crosses the arm-pit is slightly convex; this we should not expect, considering the position of of the arm as a whole. The posterior wall of the arm-pit is right; and so is the hollow denoting the interval between the deltoid and the clavicular portion of the great pectoral. In the upper arm both biceps and triceps are very well rendered: in the fore-arm the flexor mass of muscles is likewise well indicated. Finally, the position of the hand is true to life. It must not, however, be inferred from this fairly accurate representation of the tissues that the relief is not archaic. For superficial anatomy was attempted in reliefs even of the 'Minoan' age; and the close attention to bodily details,⁵ characteristic of all Ionian work, is in reality a continuous tradition from that remote period.

² See, e.g., M. Collignon, *Les polychromies dans la sculpture grecque*, Paris, 1898, p. 43 ff.

³ Overbeck, *Plastik*, I. 450, has some just remarks on the subject. Personally I feel that much depends on the proportion of surface covered by the garment. If this were relatively small, the practice would be excusable, or at least tolerable. We do well to assume, e.g., that the bride of the Ludovisi 'thronos' had painted straps to her carved sandals. But it would be rash to credit the

brides of the same monument with a painted chiton (yet see *infra* Fig. 11). Tried by this standard, a painted *chitonis* round the neck of our *ephebos* is certainly conceivable. Moreover, it is strongly supported by the analogy of Fig. 10.

⁴ H. Balle, *Der schone Mensch im Altertum*, München und Leipzig, 1912, p. 444, Pl. 196.

⁵ The nipple is here rendered, not plastically as with the 'Apollo' of Tenos (Brum-

But nearer definition of date seems possible. Mr. H. G. Evelyn-White, in a careful and interesting paper on 'Two Athletic Bronzes at Athens',⁹ remarks *à propos* of the Cottenham relief: 'The hair of the ephebus reproduces exactly the form of the hair seen in the two Athenian bronzes,¹⁰ and is lightly worked over in such a way as to suggest a thick crop of curls rather than long tresses of hair braided and coiled up.' He further compares 'the cap-like coiffure' to be seen on certain black-figured vases, and concludes that our relief is Attic work of about 500-490 B.C.

Another criterion of date may be found in the sculptor's treatment of the horse's head. The pricked ear, the long bony skull, the soft nose with its inflated nostril, the mobile puckered underlip, the mouth opened just enough to show both rows of teeth¹¹ and an upcurled tongue—these features together constitute a triumph of naturalistic modelling,¹² and afford a piquant contrast to the conventional lines of the mane and the broad flat surfaces of cheek and neck. If Kalamis was praised for the 'finish' of his horses,¹³ this relief may give us some inkling of his procedure. It should not, however, be forgotten that a detailed rendering of horse-heads was part of the heritage bequeathed to fifth-century sculpture by sixth-century painting. This is not the place in which to attempt a study of equine types as they appear on black-figured and red-figured vases. M. Morin-Jean, who has made an excellent beginning,¹⁴ would probably be the first to admit that the subject is far from being exhausted.¹⁵ But here I am concerned merely to use ceramic evidence as a means of dating the Cottenham fragment. Accordingly I figure a short representative series of horse heads from Attic vases of the sixth and fifth centuries (Figs. 3-9) in order to ask which of them most nearly resembles our relief.

Bruckmann, *Dealm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* Pl. 1; W. Doonau, *Les Apollons archaïques*, Paris, 1909, p. 133) or a bronze athlete at Athens (A. de Ridder, 'Statuette de bronze de l'Acropole' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894, xviii, 44-52, Pl. 5 f.; *id.* *Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*, Paris, 1896, p. 268 f., No. 749, Pl. 3 f.), but by means of a small incised circle, perhaps reminiscent of copper inlay as with the Piombino Apollo of the Louvre (Bruckmann, *op. cit.* Pl. 78), if not also the Libanestra Poseidon at Athens (D. Phillips in the *Ep. Apx.* 1899, p. 57 ff., Pl. 5 f.).

⁹ *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916, xxxvi, 21 f.

¹⁰ Nos. 6614 and 6615 of the National Museum (A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*, Paris, 1896, p. 275 ff., No. 750, Fig. 237 f., p. 281 f., No. 757, Fig. 265 f.; V. Stais, *Marbre et bronzes du Musée National*, Athènes, 1919, I, 267).

¹¹ The teeth are carved separately, not as an undivided set, and the canine of the upper

row stands, as it ought to stand, well apart from the rest.

¹² Dr. W. L. H. Duckworth praises the teeth and mouth as 'extraordinarily good,' but regards the line from the brow to the front end of the nasal bone as overstraight. He also notes that the distance from the ear to the throat seems rather short in comparison with the length of the head, the defect being not in the lower but in the upper segment (from the ear to the zygomatic arch).

¹³ Prop. 3. 9. 10 'exactis Calamis se militi iactat equis'; cp. *Or. ex Pont.* 4. 1. 33, *Plin. nat. hist.* 34. 71, *Paus.* 6. 12. 1.

¹⁴ Morin-Jean, *Le dessin des Animaux en Grèce d'après les vases peints*, Paris, 1911, pp. 209-219 and *passim* (series of equine eyes on p. 247, 'tableau récapitulatif des différents styles dans le dessin du cheval' on p. 249). See also H. Thiersch, 'Tyrrhenische Amphoren', Leipzig, 1899, pp. 107 f.

¹⁵ Miss Evelyn Radford enters a useful caveat in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916, xxxv, 135.

It will be observed, to begin with, that the teeth are indicated even in our earliest example (c. 600-550 n.c.), the galloping horse of Troilos on the famous *krater* by Klitias (Fig. 3).¹⁶ True, they are absent from K. Reichhold's drawing.¹⁷ But that was made shortly before the catastrophe of Sept. 9, 1900, when—as L. A. Milani pathetically puts it¹⁸—‘Un sacrilego custode, mosso da pazzo furore di vendetta, lanciava un pesante sgabello contro il più prezioso cimelio de Museo, il kratero di Ergotimos e Klitias, il



FIGS. 3-9.

vaso François, di celebrità mondiale, il vaso principe della ceramica antica.' The careful cleaning to which the fragments of this masterpiece were afterwards subjected, served to bring to light many details, and among them the teeth of Troilos' horse. Now it is not a little remarkable that early Attic art should have insisted on such a detail in the case of horses, when in the case of men the same detail was regarded¹⁹ as the invention of Polygnotos

¹⁶ After L. A. Milani, 'Il vaso François,' in *Atene e Roma* (Bollettino della Società Italiana per la diffusione e l'incoraggiamento degli studi Classici), 1902, v. 700 f. Fig. 2.

¹⁷ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenma-*

leri Pl. II f.

¹⁸ L. A. Milani, 'Il vaso François,' p. 705 f.

¹⁹ Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 38, 'Polygnotos Thasius . . . plurimum . . . picturae primus euntali, siquidem instituit ut adaperire, dentes

(c. 475-445 B.C.) The Argonaut-*krater* in the Louvre (G 341)²⁰ proves that c. 450 B.C. a vase-painter, who relished the Polygnotan novelty and made six out of his seventeen figures part their lips to show the teeth,²¹ was already essaying a fresh difficulty with his horse-head, that of depicting it in three-quarter position (Fig. 9).²² The fact is that the representation of men normally lags behind the representation of the lower animals. From the very outset the primitive artist fastened with unerring judgment on the characteristic features of animals²³; even in quaternary times the cave-dwellers of southern France knew how to represent the teeth of a horse.²⁴ And the delight of the sixth-century painter in typical detail as applied to animal life was at once a survival from a distant past and an earnest of future development. Whatever may happen in the middle, art begins and ends in realism. Another little realistic touch seen in most of these horse-heads is the series of creases or folds in the skin beneath the jaw. Such lines, caused by the depression of the head, are wrongly retained by Euphronios (c. 500 B.C.), whose horse is raising its head (Fig. 6).²⁵ [Iones]inos (c. 485 B.C.) in this respect managed better, and omitted the familiar wrinkles from the neck of a horse that holds its head horizontally (Fig. 7).²⁶ *A fortiori* our sculptor, whose horse is inclined to jib, will have none of them. Other features common to most or all of the vase-painters' horse-heads are the puckered underlip, the exaggerated nostril, and the prolongation of the eye by means of a line parallel to the nose.

But clearly none of these naturalistic or quasi-naturalistic details will serve to distinguish the horse of one decade from the horse of another or provide a convenient calendar for dating the Cottenham relief. Rather we must turn from them to some more conventional feature, where changing fashions may give a clue to change of period. And here the variable treatment of the horse's mane *sauve aux yeux*. Klitias makes the mane fall over the neck, marked by a set of fine undulatory lines and topped with a grand *pompa* (Fig. 3). Exekias (c. 530 B.C.) does much the same, multi-

ostendere, vultum ab antiquo rigore variare.' The source of the statement appears to have been Xenokrates of Sikyon (c. 280 B.C.); see K. Jax-Blake-E. Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, London, 1896, p. xxxiii.

²⁰ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenmalerei*, II, 344 ff. Pl. 108.

²¹ *Id.*, ib., p. 244.

²² After Furtwängler-Reichhold, *op. cit.* Pl. 108.

²³ See e.g. A. C. Haddon, *Evolution in Art*, London, 1895, p. 164 ff.; K. Grosse, *The Beginnings of Art*, New York, 1897, pp. 118 ff., 163 ff.; W. Wundt, *Folk-psychologie*, Leipzig, 1908, III² (Die Kunst), 138 ff., *id.* *Elements of Folk Psychology*, London, 1916, p. 106 ff. (wrongly rejecting the view of S. Reinach,

'L'art et la magie,' in *L'Anthropologie*, 1903, p. 257 ff. = *Outlets, Myths and Religions*, Paris, 1905, I, 125 ff.) ; M. Hoernes, *Ursprünge der bildenden Kunst in Europa*, Wien, 1915, p. 157 ff.

²⁴ E. Cartailhan, *La France préhistorique*, Paris, 1889, p. 70 f., Fig. 30; S. Reinach, *Repetoire de l'art quaternaire*, Paris, 1913, p. 148, 5 (cp. *ib.* p. 149, 4).

²⁵ From the Goryneus-*kylix* at Munich (No. 377) after Furtwängler-Reichhold, *op. cit.* Pl. 22.

²⁶ From the *kylix* signed by Euphronios, as potter, and [Iones]inos, as painter, now in the Louvre (G 103), after P. Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterwerke der Bucherei des strengen schattigen Stiles*, Stuttgart u. Berlin, 1893, Pl. 53.

plying the wavy lines and either keeping the *pompon*²⁷ or instead of it giving us a row of tiny spirals all along the neck (Fig. 4).²⁸ The painter of the *Miltiades-piñax* at Oxford (? Epiktetos, c. 515 B.C.)²⁹ represents a mane of transitional character, for he combines a solid mass of hair falling over the neck with wavy lines standing up from it; he treats the top-knot similarly as a mass of solid black with lines upstanding, and for the first time parts the mane by means of a V-shaped break for the bridle (Fig. 5).³⁰ Euphronios shows a hogged mane, but still uses to represent it the wavy lines taken over from manes of the Klitias-Ezekias sort; he adds a few more natural touches to his top-knot and keeps the V-shaped break for the bridle (Fig. 6). [? Opos]imos follows the example of Euphronios in portraying a definitely hogged mane, but discards the wavy lines in favour of two rows of straight and straightish strokes (Fig. 7). The Amazon-*krater* at Naples (No. 2,421), on which Furtwängler recognised the influence of Attic mural painting c. 460 B.C.,³¹ has curiously long-headed horses with hogged mane, unparted, and a tuft of hair falling forward over the forehead in a much more natural manner: the example here illustrated adds straight lines on the mane to represent the hair *à la brosse* (Fig. 8).³² Lastly, the Argonaut-*krater* in the Louvre, being of nearly the same date, shows a somewhat similar horse in three-quarter view, the mane unparted and marked with a few curved lines (Fig. 9). We are well on the way towards the waved manes of later Attic art.

Comparing, now, the relief with the vase-paintings, we find that its horse-head and theirs agree as follows:—

	Oxford Relief	KLITIAS c. 520	EZEKIAS c. 515	Epiktetos (?) c. 515	Euphronios c. 500	[? Opos]imos c. 485	Amazon- krater c. 460	Argonaut- krater c. 460
Hogged mane	Yes	No	No	?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hair indicated by straight strokes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
V-shaped parting in mane	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Absence of folds in skin beneath jaw	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No

The comparison points to a date c. 485 B.C. as that of our relief. If this can be accepted as a provisional estimate, it is hardly too much to claim that the

²⁷ So on an amphora (F 53), signed by Ezekias, in the Louvre (Gerhard, *Ann. Inst.* 1888, Pl. 107; *Wien. Vorl.* 1888, Pl. 3, 1; Morin-Jean, *op. cit.* p. 205 f., Fig. 236).

²⁸ From the horse of Kastor on the magnificent amphora in the Vatican, after Furtwängler-Reichhold, *op. cit.* Pl. 132.

²⁹ P. Gardner, *Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1893, p. 30 f., No. 310, Pl. 13; F. Winter in the

Jahrb. d. Inst. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1893, viii. 135 ff.; G. Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, Cambridge, 1912, i. 138 ff., with the literature cited *ib.* p. 140 f.

³⁰ After P. Gardner, *op. cit.* Pl. 13.

³¹ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Gr. Vasculare*, i. 124.

³² After Furtwängler-Reichhold, *op. cit.* Pl. 26-27.

Cottenham relief is the finest sculptured memorial of the heroic *Μαραθωνομαχαι*.

A type used to commemorate their chivalrous valour might well be copied by subsequent sculptors. It was, if I am not mistaken, one of the many pre-existing types adopted and adapted by Pheidias. Figure 131 on slab xlii. of the Parthenon frieze (west end of north side)²⁸ presupposes just such a type, though the treatment is of course widely different. The sculptor no longer unites a full-front body with profile head and legs; he knows how to foreshorten the right lower arm; and he does not rely on painting for his *chlamys*. Again, it would not be difficult to adduce hero-reliefs and the



FIG. 10.

like²⁹ as proof that the same type persisted for centuries and was modified in multifarious ways by many anonymous craftsmen.³⁰ One sample of its long-

²⁸ A. H. Smith, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London, 1910, Pl. 60; M. Collignon, *Le Parthénon*, Paris, s.a. Pl. 103. Cf. also Figure 9 on Slab V, of the frieze (towards north end of west side) = Smith, *op. cit.* Pl. 61, Collignon, *op. cit.* Pl. 83.

²⁹ *i.e.* a splendid sepulchral relief, Attic work of c. 400 B.C., in the Villa Albani (Helbig, *Führer*, ii. 417 f., No. 1861 = English ed. ii. 31 f., No. 759; Bruns-Brockmann, *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* Pl. 437; *Conze, Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin, 1898,

ii. 232 (Lief. x), No. 1153, Pl. 247; Reinach, *Rep. Reliefs*, iii. 154, 1); another, Attic work of s. II, B.C., from Loukou in Thyrreotis, now at Athens (Svoronos, *Atk. Nationalmus.* p. 432 f., No. 1450, Pl. 75; Reinach, *Rep. Reliefs*, ii. 417, 1). With the Albani relief O. Bie, *Kampfgruppe und Kampftypen in der Antike*, Berlin, 1891, p. 105, compares a slab from the first frieze of the Nereid monument (*Mon. d. Inst.* x, Pl. 14, O = No. 854 a in the British Museum numeration).

³⁰ It was even transmuted into sculpture in

lived popularity must serve. When I showed a photograph of the Cottenham find to Mr. A. H. Smith, he at once suggested comparison with the archaizing relief discovered by Gavin Hamilton in 1769 at Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli (Fig. 10),²⁶ and now preserved in the British Museum (No. 2206). Mr. Smith, in the official *Catalogue*,²⁷ describes the relief in question thus:—

Youth standing to the left, holding with his right hand the bridle of a horse, which rears to the left. The bridle, which was of metal, is now lost, but the holes by which it was fixed remain in the marble. The youth wears a diadem and a *chlamys* flying from his shoulders. In his left hand, which is raised, he holds a stick; behind him follows a hound. This figure has been called *Castor*, an attribution unsupported by any evidence. The sculpture seems an imitation of a relief of about 500 B.C., probably executed in the time of Hadrian.



FIG. 11.

Mr. Smith's acute diagnosis is fully borne out by the discovery of the Cottenham slab. Beyond all question this fragment preserves the archaic type copied by the sculptor of Gavin Hamilton's relief. The later artist while intending to reproduce the spirit and aspect of his original, has of course betrayed himself by sundry exaggerations and modifications. The forward plunge of the horse is more pronounced, and so is the backward throw of his leader. The horse's neck and shoulder are more fully modelled; the man's body is less *en face*; the mane of the one and the hair of the other have undergone later influence; the *chlamys* is carved. But the relation of copy to original is quite unmistakable, and—given the conservatism of

the round, as we see from the *Diskourai* of Monte Cavallo.

²⁶ From a photograph by W. A. Mansell and Co. (No. 1245).

²⁷ A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, London, 1904*, iii. 298 f., No. 2206.

archaistic art—we may without hesitation mentally complete the Cottenham fragment by the aid of the Hadrianic relief (Fig. 2).

Two scruples remain. The short thick staff of the later relief is a somewhat unexpected attribute for an Attic *éphēbos*, especially when brandished in his left hand. And the hound seems more appropriate to a hunting-scene than to one of horse-taming.

Both difficulties can, I think, be cleared up. An Attic fifth-century type must be traced backwards into the past as well as forwards into the future. I should surmise that the type was derived from that of Herakles taming the horse of Diomedes. The well-known metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Fig. 11)³⁸ and the 'Theseum' at Athens³⁹ show the hero leading the restive horse by its bronze bridle from the left, while he swings the club in his right hand. The sculptor of the Cottenham relief manifestly borrowed the heroic type⁴⁰ presupposed by these metopes, substituting the *éphēbos* for Herakles and a short stick for the club. But, it may be asked, why did he reverse the sides of his design, putting right for left and left for right? And whence came the hound? The solution is simple. Herakles mastering the horse of Diomedes occurs first as a glyptic type. An early Ionic gem (Fig. 12)⁴¹ represents Herakles grasping the mettlesome steed by its bridle and brandishing a club in his right hand; he is accompanied on his quest by a faithful hound. The intaglio, of which this is the impression, may well have suggested to our artist both the reversing of the design and the addition of the hound.



FIG. 12.

And who shall say that a type devised to express the overthrow of a Thracian tyrant, the son of Ares, was used inappositely to denote the prowess of a man that fought at Marathon?

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

³⁸ From *Olympia*, Berlin, 1894, Tafelband iii, Pl. 45, 8 (metope 2 of eastern series).

³⁹ H. Saunier, *Das sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 173 f., Pl. 6 (metope 5 of eastern series). Cf. Tarentine diobols (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*, Italy, p. 209; Garrucci, *Mon. It. Ant.* p. 128, Pl. 99, 45).

⁴⁰ It is possible that the archaic type of Herakles with the horse of Diomedes was itself a variation on an archaic type of Herakles with the Cretan bull (whence also was derived the type of Theseus with the

Marathonian bull), and that the type of Herakles with the Cretan bull in turn goes back ultimately to some 'Minoan' scheme of bull-grappling. To trace the whole pedigree would be a task of much interest, but is not here ad rem.

⁴¹ From *Olympia*, Berlin, 1897, Textband iii, 170, Fig. 26 = *Cadex Class.* III, 4, No. 157 (scale 1). See, further, A. Furtwängler in *Recherch. Lex. Myth.* i, 2202, 2225 f., 2243, and in his *Die antiken Gemmen*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1900, i, Pl. 18, 56 and 24, 1, ii, 90 and 118.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Griechische Texte aus Ägypten. By PAUL M. MEYER. Pp. xiii + 233, with 4 Plates. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1916.

THE texts contained in this volume are taken from two different collections. The first section consists of papyri in the possession of the New Testament Seminar at Berlin, the second of ostraca in Deissmann's private collection. Meyer is sole editor; but he has had the advantage of Wücker's advice, and Deissmann has added a number of extra notes on matters of New Testament grammar and diction. The volume contains no text of outstanding importance, but several of both interest and value, and the editor uses his material to the fullest advantage. As usual in his editions, he provides the texts with a very elaborate commentary and a great wealth of biographical references. Indeed the fault of his method, if it is to be regarded as a fault, is an occasional tendency to a superfluity of comment, so that the first sight of some of his texts, with their few Greek lines indented in pages of elucidation might suggest to an irreverent mind Prince Hal's jibe at Falstaff's 'half-pennyworth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack.' But this would be quite unfair; Meyer's introductions are always instructive, and his wonderfully full lists of parallels to the documents he publishes make his editions a particularly valuable quarry to other editors. The translations annexed to the texts are an additional service.

As already said, the present volume contains no text of the first rank, but several deserve notice as of real value. Such are Nos. 1 (a document of special interest for the military settlements of the Ptolemies, inasmuch as it concerns a grant of *fertile* land, contrary to the practice in the second century A.D. to *εὐροκαταλίσσιν*), 2 (an *ἐπιστολή* of a strategus, on the character of which the editor has an interesting discussion), 5-10 (papers of a family belonging to the '6475 Fayum Greeks')—among these last especially 5 (with 7 and 12 belonging to a puzzling class of documents which Meyer explains as instances of *datio in solutum*, though other explanations are possible) and 6 (a request to the archidicastes for the publication of a chirograph with an unusual clause)—15-17 (*libelli*), and 20 (a rather interesting private letter). Naturally, some of the editor's views, as to translation or interpretation, are open to question, but he always gives his reasons for holding them. In 3, 13 f., for example, his rendering of *χρόνος* τῶν as 'seit germanischer Zeit' seems very unlikely; it seems more probable that it means, as suggested by Prof. Grenfell to the present reviewer, 'for certain periods,' going with *πρὸς μέγεθος* [i. *πρὸς μέγεθος*]. Prof. Grenfell indeed doubts the reading *μικρῶν* *πρὸς μέγεθος*. Again his interesting explanation of *ἐντεταλμένοι* (p. 59), though not unlikely, is by no means certain; the poll-tax-paying persons so described may have paid the tax at a reduced rate and so have belonged, in some degree, to the privileged classes. The order of the words in Meyer's text does not *prove* the contrary, and the frequent use of *ἐντεταλμένοι* absolutely is an argument on the other side. The explanation of 27 as 'copies of grave inscriptions' seems very improbable; the two parallels Meyer refers to (P. Hamb. i. 22; P. Glas. i. 99) are not really parallels at all.

The ostraca are preceded by an interesting discussion on the formulae in the Ptolemaic receipts. As regards the subject of the verb *ἐράρα* in the second-first

century B.C. receipts from Edfu, Meyer comes to the conclusion that the usage was not constant, the person in question being sometimes the tax-farmer, sometimes the tax-payer. He gives weighty reasons for this view, but they are not conclusive; in particular, as regards the words $\delta\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\alpha\sigma\ \gamma\epsilon\phi\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$, one may ask whether it is not possible that the money was really paid 'through' the guild; i.e. that the individual tax-payers received acquittances for their payments handed over in a lump sum by the guild collectively.

The volume has full indices and four good plates.

Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum a GUILLEMO DITTENBERGERO condita et aucta nunc tertium edita. Vol. I, 1915.

The third edition of this standard collection follows the second at an interval of seventeen years, only two years more than intervened between the second and the first, in spite of the lamented death of the original editor and the distractions of the war. The fact is that Dittenberger's *Sylloge* is indispensable and must never lapse out of print or become obsolete. This third edition is entrusted to the able care of Hiller von Giertringen assisted by Kirchner on the Attic, Puntow on the Delphic, and Zietzsch on the Euboeic inscriptions. Their names fully guarantee its excellence.

Dittenberger's portrait and a brief memoir of him by Wissowa prefixed to the volume are more than that sentimental *envoi* with which the German, absorbed at last to indulge his feelings, loves to issue his severest treatise. They are a prelude to the book and an introduction to the great humanist whose personality we have divined beneath the austerity of his commentary. It is a surprise to learn that, unlike his successors, he had little or no first hand experience of inscribed stones and their decipherment, and had never travelled beyond the limits of Germany. But he was no narrow specialist. His terse and lucid Latin style was built upon Caesar, whose *Gallie War* he repeatedly edited. His studies in Greek philosophy and history, his lectures on Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle broadened his grasp of antiquity, disciplined his understanding, and schooled his faculty for interpretation. His portrait confirms our impression of him, a massive, just, and kindly man.

The new edition is greatly improved in form. Headings have been added not only to the pages, as in Dittenberger's *Orientalis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, but also in heavy lettering to each text, and both give the date or approximate date of the texts. The notes are now printed in a type much clearer than the old. An innovation, which may in future go far, appears in the woodcut to illustrate the monument of Cleobis and Biton (No. 5). Useful tables are inserted to elucidate the Delphic documents. The texts are still too closely packed into the pages, but the book is bulky and space had to be economised.

This first volume comprises only three of the four sections included in the first volume of the second edition, and the third period ends at 217 B.C. instead of 146 B.C. The first section has grown from 56 texts to 115; the second from 102 to 194; the third, in spite of its shorter period, from 151 to 225. The total is therefore 534 against 309; but there must be deducted certain texts brought forward from later sections of the second edition, and on the other hand may be added many unnumbered headings giving references in their proper chronological place, without the texts, to inscriptions included in the supplementary collection *O.G.I.S.*, or even (e.g. the *Marmor Parium*, p. 675, or No. 467) published elsewhere. The editors have evidently aimed at making this chronological part of the *Sylloge* as complete a guide as possible to the inscriptions most important for Greek history. Thus they give inscriptions quoted by classical authors, e.g. Nos. 79, 202, 223 ('*Edidit Plutarchus*'), and 224 (from the Didymus papyrus); or reconstituted from their allusions, e.g. No. 7 from Herodotus I. 54, cf. Nos. 35, 59; or inferred from other inscriptions, e.g. No. 17. This is a vein which might be worked

much farther—one may recall the ‘unpublished inscriptions from Herodotus’ promulgated by Dr. A. W. Verrall. On the contrary the less strictly historical portions of some lengthy texts are omitted, e.g. No. 270 gives the Delphian decrees in honour of Philodamus without his pæan.

The admission or rejection of documents and their classification will always leave room for difference of opinion. But the principle of selection enunciated by the editors will be generally approved—‘*Nepus dubitaveris, quin praeclarissimum quæque titulum ultimis annis inventum, qui ad augendam libri utilitatem idoneus videretur, in novam syllogen ipse Dittenberger recepturus fuerit, abiectis iam aliis, quas sine detrimento desiderari possent. Quare non falsam quandam pietatem pro summo nostro negotio habuimus, sed artis leges et studiosorum commoditatem.*’ Perhaps it may be thought that Delphica have too big a share in the additions. But, apart from their novelty and importance, the principle of ‘all or none,’ which led Dittenberger to exclude from his second edition the Athenian ‘tribute lists,’ may justify the inclusion of the Delphic lists at such length, and Pomtow’s masterly exposition, which makes them for the first time conveniently accessible and intelligible to students, is one of the strongest points of the third edition. Much work will be done on them for many years to come, and when they have been assimilated they can be retrenched. Yet one may regret that space has not been found for at least the best of the Athenian lists, although one of them (No. 68) is recalled, possibly for the sake of Mr. Woodward’s fragment. It is a pity too that the Milesian lists of Eponymi are represented only by meagre extracts (Nos. 272, 322). Their value will increase with the exploration of Ionia. Milesian interests, however, are perhaps indemnified by the *lex Molporum* (No. 57), and the imperial claims of Athens pleaded by the *lex nummaria* (No. 87).

The editors have shown sound judgment in retaining most of Dittenberger’s comments, in themselves an education in Greek history, and now so deeply imbedded in the classical philology of our generation that to omit them would disconcert innumerable quotations and references. Perhaps ‘pietas’ has here and there been even too conservative, e.g. in No. 76, concerning the Athenian cleruchs in Lesbos, the very dubious restorations of the text and the risky conclusions based upon them are repeated without such warning as is given in the notes to the Salaminian decree, No. 12.

It need scarcely be said that the work has been thoroughly revised in the light of the latest discoveries and researches and brought up to date in every way. The progress of knowledge may be measured by comparing for example the Delphic decree of the Amphictyones in honour of Aristotle and Callisthenes as given and interpreted under No. 275 with the version of the second edition, No. 915. References to the most recent authorities are everywhere inserted down to the eve of publication. We observe with pleasure that cultured Germany does not boycott ‘Petrograd,’ which now replaces ‘Petropolis.’

The second volume is to consist of two parts, the former containing the historical documents of the Roman and the Byzantine periods, the latter the inscriptions which illustrate public and religious and private antiquities. The third volume will give the indices.

This third edition will maintain the reputation and enhance the value of the *Sylloge*. It is a noble monument of German scholarship, and a boon to every Hellenist.

The Evolution of Coinage. By G. MACDONALD, C.B., F.B.A., LL.D. Pp. viii. +148, with 8 Plates. Cambridge University Press, 1916. 1s. 3d.

This is one of the Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature, and one of the most successful of what, so far as our experience goes, is an admirable series. Readers of such books fall into two classes: a small class, who are already acquainted with the subject, and read them in the hope of finding light reflected on it from an unfamiliar

angle; and a large class who are in search of general culture. The former can take care of themselves. The latter usually find, in a book on this scale, that they are interested while reading it, but retain no lasting impression. In this case, it will not be the author's fault if they fail to be permanently edified; for Dr. Macdonald's way of handling his material is always fresh, and his style combines incisiveness with sobriety in a way which drives his points home with great thoroughness. Those who know his *Coin Types*—probably the best general introduction to Numismatics in existence—will be familiar with his method and with much of his material in this little book; but all that material is recast, and the arguments thought out again, while such a matter as the origin of types, which properly enough was discussed with great detail in the larger book, is here reduced to the proportions suitable to the wider scope of the smaller one. An introductory chapter is followed by chapters dealing with Coinage and the State, the Material, Form and Methods of Production, Types, Legends, Dates and Marks of Value. The economic side of numismatics, and all questions of coin-standards, receive merely a passing glance, which is perhaps as well, since a brief treatment of such questions is apt to be meaningless or to mislead. We have not space to discuss the many interesting suggestions made by Dr. Macdonald; but his theory of the influence of Mohammedan coinage on the practice of dating coins seems to require more support than he is able to adduce. It is true that the earliest dated Christian coins are the Acre dirhems (copied closely from Mohammedan originals) and the dinars of Alfonso VIII. of Castile (inspired by Moorish coins); but the date on the Danish coin of the year MCCCXXXVIII can hardly have been suggested by the Mohammedan coins which had passed across Europe in the course of trade. It is doubtful whether the Danes had any idea of the meaning of the inscriptions on such coins, and we should have expected to find influence of the same kind revealed by the coinage of other districts along the trade routes which crossed Europe. There are one or two instances of the copying of the Oriental inscriptions by Western engravers as on Otto's 'mancus,' or the silver coin of the Emperor Henry II., but these are altogether exceptional, and it is not certain that the engravers understood what they were doing. On one other question connected with trade we would venture a suggestion. Dr. Macdonald remarks that some of the most highly civilized nations of antiquity never adopted coinage until they came under Greek influence. He instances Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria. May not the reason be that, owing to their great river-systems, these countries never felt the difficulties of transporting bulky goods in the same way as countries that depended for intercourse on land communications, and therefore were content to stick to primitive methods of barter? The point seems worth considering. It is true that in China, with its great river-communications, coinage was invented at a very early date; but that coinage was in the least precious, and therefore the most bulky, of the metals usually employed for the purpose. But perhaps the backwardness of the countries concerned was due merely to conservatism; for it is clear that they used gold and silver by weight in commercial transactions.

The Architecture of Ancient Egypt. By EDWARD BELL, M.A., F.S.A.
Pp. xxiv. + 255, with illustrations, plans, and map. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1915.
6s. net.

Mr. Bell's book will be a handy guide to architectural students and other general readers who do not desire to know more than the outlines of the subject. Nor in a book of this small size is it possible to do more than briefly sketch the matter. The architect or student of architecture who wishes to know the very latest results of archaeological discovery as regards Egyptian architecture must turn to and make his own book for himself; he must study the very latest publications of the British, American, and German archaeologists, and above all must study these results, notebook in hand, on the spot. Mr. Bell gives us a very competent conspectus of what is known, but it can hardly be said that he is completely up to date. The wonderful discoveries of

the Germans and Americans at Abûsir, Gîzeh, and Lisht are hardly referred to. The temples of Abûsir are mentioned, it is true, but most cursorily, and with no sign that Mr. Bell has studied the full publications of them, *Des Reliquies des Königs Ne-user-Ré* and the rest. Otherwise he could hardly have dismissed the Sun-Sanctuary and the pyramid-temples so cursorily, even in a short handbook. The omission is partly rectified, as regards Gîzeh, by a full reference to Dr. Hölscher's *Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, with a plan (p. 39). The equally remarkable and interesting pyramid-temple of Mentahetep at Deir el-Bahri is fully described and illustrated, as befits British work. And so, of course, are all the rest of the great sanctuaries which we know so well, from Edfu to Hatahepu's (and, the latest of the great temples to be discovered, by the side of that of Mentahetep at Deir el-Bahri. With regard to Eana, Mr. Bell should note for a future edition that the whole temple is now excavated. In the description of Karnak, we find no reference whatever to the great work of conservation on which M. Legrain has been engaged for so many years. Many of the illustrations are quite well chosen, but there are rather too many of the old clichés which we have known from our childhood. And Philae should not now be illustrated by photographs taken before the completion of the dam, unless it is especially pointed out, which is not done in this case, that the pictures represent the past. The plan, too, of Kom Ombo, on p. 187, gives no indication that part of the temple is nothing but foundation-lines and column-bases, and part more or less whole: the building appears to be complete. Such blemishes as these can easily be remedied in a future edition.

Ægean Archaeology. By H. R. HALL, M.A., F.S.A. Pp. xxi + 263, with 33 Plates and Map. Len. Warner, 1915.

It would be difficult to find a better summary of our present knowledge of Ægean civilization than is given in Mr. Hall's book. It is comprehensive, up-to-date, and very well illustrated. Thus the critic is driven to fasten on rather small points. One such is the omission in the chapter on Towns and Palaces of any mention of the interesting method used in building the Vasiliki E.M. III. houses; a cement in durability comparable only to the Roman reinforced by imbedded beams. Then a reference to the 'Warrior Vase' of Mycenae shows a regrettably open mind as to its date, and calls for the assertion that few students of pottery will believe the fabric of the vase to admit of a later date than L.M. III., for it is definitely 'Mycenean'. We admire the courage of the author in putting on record his perfectly sound belief that the Ægean peoples were not Greek (which is just the statement that must not be made in Greece), but if he wishes the reader to grasp his doctrine he should avoid such phrases as 'the Greek of the Bronze Age' and the 'Mainland Greeks' or 'Myceneans.' It is, of course, very tiresome of them to have lived in Greece. Equally it is very tiresome of the words *torcitic* and *ceramic* in English to be only adjectives, but, though *ceramics* is allowable on the analogy of *economics*, such phrases as 'the *torcitic* of this age' and 'the Ægean *ceramic*' have not yet made good their position. These verbal blemishes, though they are slight, and do not touch the essential excellences, which are great, are due to a roughness of finish, and carelessness of phrase, which have perhaps prevented the work from being as good a book as it is a guide.

Excavations in Eastern Crete: Vrokastro. By Miss E. H. HALL. Pp. 185, with 19 Plates. Philadelphia University Museum, 1914.

The dark ages that followed the break up of the Minoan civilization are full of problems for the student of prehistoric Greece, and Crete has great interest for him at this period also, because, owing perhaps to the geographical position of the island, remote comparatively from Northern influences, the change of civilization appears to have taken place

more slowly there, and there is more hope of understanding changes that are seen as it were in the making.

It is to be hoped that Miss Hall will be able to resume the important excavations undertaken in 1910 and 1912 on an inhabited site at Vrokastro in Eastern Crete. The stratification that the houses barely gave was found more fully in a series of tombs that could be dated comparatively with good probability by the method of burial. Pottery of three periods could be distinguished; very late Mycenaean from levels below the house floors, 'Quasi-Geometric' from chamber tombs showing both inhumation and cremation, and 'fully developed Geometric' from bone enclosures where the burials were always cremated. Miss Hall suggests that these represent three successive invasions of Crete from the Mainland, those of the Mycenaean, the Achaean, and the Dorians. If so, the two last were surely very closely related, but there is no reason to quarrel with the suggestion, if the names are understood as applied to successive waves of the same race. The facts of this excavation are set forth very clearly and the volume is well illustrated.

Catalogue of Arretine Pottery in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

By Professor GEORGE H. CHASE, Ph.D. 4to. Pp. xii. + 112. With thirty Plates and two Figures. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916. \$2.10.

The authorities of the Boston Museum are to be congratulated on the fine representation of Arretine ware which they have been able to secure, and they are no less to be congratulated on the fortunate combination of liberality and scholarship that has rendered possible the issue of this excellent catalogue. We gather from the Preface that the cost of printing has been met by a generous gift from Mr. James Loeb, while the appearance of Professor Chase's name upon the title-page is in itself a sufficient guarantee of competence.

The importance of Arretine ware to the archaeologist is twofold. First, and chiefly, it is of interest because of its ancestry. The clear-cut outline assumed by many of the vessels, taken along with the style of their decoration, proves unmistakably that they were, to begin with, intended to provide a cheap substitute for the embossed silver ware which enjoyed such a vogue during the Hellenistic age; if a characteristic Arretine bowl is set alongside of a silver cup from Hildesheim or Boscoreale, the resemblance leaps to the eyes at once. With few exceptions the work of the silversmith has perished. It is easy to reconstruct it in imagination from the much more abundant remains of the work of the potter. Again, Arretine ware is of interest because of its progeny. It was without doubt the 'onlie begletter' of the 'Samian' or *terra sigillata* of Gaul and the Rhine, which has now become such an important instrument for elucidating the history of Roman sites in Western Europe. Nor is it only the archaeologist who will value the Catalogue. The artist will find in the graceful decoration of this typical series much that is deserving of careful study. And his study of the admirable plates will be greatly facilitated by the care and conscientiousness of the descriptive text.

Professor Chase's workmanlike introduction provides the general reader with all the information he requires in order to understand and appreciate the Catalogue. He discusses the origin of the ware, its technique, the history of the potteries, and other relevant points in twenty or thirty illuminating pages. Perhaps the most notable advance upon the tentative conclusions of Dragendorff and other pioneers is the greater precision as to dating. It is rightly claimed that 'the finest products are works of the Augustan age.' Whether 'the flourishing period of the Arretine potteries' extended as far down as 60 A.D. seems more doubtful. At all events, by that time the strain of competition must have been making itself keenly felt. Finds at Pompeii suggest that even in the days when Pliny and Martial were celebrating its praises, the popularity of Arretine ware was undergoing eclipse in Italy itself. In Campania, at least, it was being definitely ousted by imports from Gaul.

A Defence of Classical Education. By R. W. LIVINGSTONE. 278 pp. Macmillan & Co., 1916. 4s. 6d. net.

In these days the word Education is in many mouths, though its meaning is very far from being in as many minds. The advocates of a 'practical' or 'scientific' education are anxious to transform the vague and general uneasiness which the public feels about our educational system into a definite demand for its radical reconstruction. Mr. Livingstone's *Defence*, then, comes in a good hour. In the full consciousness that education, besides a training of the mind, should be a preparation for life, the author first inquires into the results obtained respectively by scientific and humanist studies. The case against Science on the whole is fairly argued, though many will quarrel with the saying 'she is of herself unimaginative'; if education should 'knock windows into the world for us' he who grasps, say, the principle of the anatomical resemblances between mammals may fairly claim to have found a window,—and a French window at that. Again, is it just to argue (pp. 28-9) that if, in Sir E. Schäfer's words, 'instruction in science should form the basis of secondary education' it would turn every 'citizen' into a 'trained scientist,' that is, a specialist in some branch of science? On the same reckoning humanist instruction should make every 'citizen' a specialist in some branch of humanism. The case of science *versus* humanism decided, Mr. Livingstone proceeds to that of classical *versus* modern languages and literature. In principle he can say nothing new, but he puts forward the old arguments with such soberness and clinching detail, that the cumulative effect is overwhelming. Stress is laid throughout on the study of subject matter as a 'preparation for life,' and the reforms suggested are all aimed at stimulating it even at the expense of linguistic study. There is no passing by dark corners; the weakness as well as the strength of Greek physical science is hinted at; Cato the Elder is uncompromisingly chosen as the typical Roman (would it not have been happy to add that, according to the story, in his old age he too learnt Greek?). The statistics for German education in the Introduction will interest and probably surprise many people, while the reforms suggested in the last chapter deserve the careful consideration of all who have the cause of Greek at heart. Whatever their judgment may be on such controversial matters, they will have nothing but praise for the book itself. The pity of it is that in the nature of things few will read it save the converted.

Poeti Alessandrini. AUGUSTO ROSTAGNI. [Piccola Biblioteca di Scienze Moderne, No. 242.] Fratelli Bocca: Torino, 1916. Pp. xiii, 398. L. 5.

This account of Alexandrian poetry appears to be primarily designed for the general student with literary interests. An introductory chapter sketches the transition, during the fourth century, from classical art properly so called to the Alexandrian era, Euripides, who points both backward and forward, being its most characteristic figure. The four chapters forming the body of the book deal respectively with Theocritus, bucolic poetry and the myth of Daphnis, Asclepiades of Samos and his school, and the Hymns of Callimachus; the notes contain a good deal of bibliographical information. The author's flow of language is rather fatiguingly copious, but within its limits his book is no doubt a useful compendium.

Goethe's Estimate of the Greek and Latin Writers, as revealed by his works, letters, diaries, and conversations. By WILLIAM JACOB KELLER. [Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 786.] 1916. Pp. 191. 40 cents.

The aim of this book is 'to collect and present, in a manner convenient for reference and in an entirely objective way, all of Goethe's more important spoken and written utter-

among the classical authors, and Mr. Keller appears to have done his work very competently. The book brings home forcibly to the reader the scope of Goethe's reading and his extraordinary activity of mind down to the very last days of his life. Scarcely one of the classical writers escaped his attention at one time or another (the index of authors at the end of Mr. Keller's book contains 172 names); only of Pomponius Mela does he confess: 'I never touched him during the course of my career.' It is interesting to note that Goethe was only moderately proficient in Greek and was for the most part content to study the Hellenic writers in translations, his Hellenism being thus derivative in much the same way as that of Keats. Of Latin, on the other hand, he had a very thorough mastery, as indeed is obvious to anyone reading the *Römische Elegien*, and he himself is reported as saying that he must surely have been alive under Hadrian in a previous incarnation. Of the utterances of Goethe recorded in Mr. Keller's book one deserves mention as specially characteristic: it is a paraphrase of the Solonian *Frösche* *Nicht weh' ich, ich werde* by 'ich lerne immerfort, nur daran merke ich, dass ich älter werde,' which occurs in a letter to his friend Zelter, written by Goethe in his eighty-third year, six months before his death.

The Doctrine of Literary Forms. By ROY KENNETH HACK.—**The Historical Socrates in the Light of Professor Burnet's Hypothesis.** By CHARLES POMEROY PARKER.—**The Chorus of Euripides.** By ARISTIDES EVANGELOS PHOITRIDES. [Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. XXVII.] Pp. 176. 1916. 6s. 6d.

Mr. Hack in his very interesting essay sketches certain manifestations of the critical doctrine that every work of literature is to be judged according to the standard of some fixed *types* or literary form, which is established as the absolute model, and conformity to which is the highest excellence attainable by the poet—a doctrine which he rightly regards as fundamentally unsound. Starting from the confusion which has been introduced into the criticism of Horace's *Ars Poetica* by the assumption that this poem must necessarily be either of the didactic or the epistolary (isagogic) *types*, Mr. Hack goes on to show that the *Ars Poetica* itself, which finds the highest merit of a poem in its propriety, i.e. its conformity to the established model, is vitiated by the very same error. From Horace the error is traced back to Cicero (*Orator*) and thence directly back to Plato, since 'the laws of the genres are nothing but the expression in the sphere of literature of the Platonic doctrine of ideal forms'; Aristotle, too, went as far astray as his master in laying down definitions of poetry and its various kinds which were to be considered as immutably valid as natural 'laws' in the physical sphere.

Mr. Parker takes as his starting point Professor Burnet's hypothesis that the *Phaedo* of Plato gives a substantially true account of the talk which Socrates held with his friends on the last day of his life. Assuming the correctness of this hypothesis, Mr. Parker shortly examines the consequence which necessarily follows from it, which is that whenever in any Platonic dialogue Socrates is introduced as setting forth a method or doctrine inconsistent with the *Phaedo* and going beyond it in ways that the Socrates of the *Phaedo* could not have travelled, then this particular advance in philosophy is attributable to Plato and not to the historical Socrates.

The first part of Mr. Phoitrides's study consists of a defence of supposed faults in the choruses of Euripides. He shows statistically that the share of the chorus is if anything rather greater in the plays of Euripides than in those of Sophocles, and by apposite quotations disposes very fairly of the common accusation that the Euripidean choruses tend to be of the nature of interludes, with little organic connexion with the action of the play. In the second part the author develops his contention that Euripides

voiced through his choruses the religious and moral convictions of the people at large (this being especially the case in the *Bacchae*) and brought his choreutan near to the common passions of humanity, thus contrasting both with Aeschylus's conception of the chorus as the spokesman of a higher morality and with Sophocles's treatment of it as 'the ideal spectator.' The closing sections briefly discuss the hypercheme and other technical matters.

A BRONZE FIGURE OF A YOUTH IN ORIENTAL COSTUME.

[PLATE II.]

THE remarkable bronze figure published on Pl. II. was exhibited, by permission of the owner, at a meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies on Tuesday, May 8. It has not, so far as I am aware, been discussed in print, and has all the interest which attaches to an unsolved problem.

The figure was said to have been found by Egyptian natives, in 1912, in ruins to the east of the Suez Canal, but other reports ascribed it to Alexandria; and it is clear that, unless better information comes to hand, no stress can be laid on the alleged place of origin.

In the case of every new work of art, and especially if it presents features of striking novelty, the first question to be asked is: Is it genuine? But in the present instance, whatever the interpretation of the bronze may be, its authenticity and antiquity seem beyond question.

The figure is that of a boy, twenty-five inches in height, all told. The height of the head is a little more than a seventh of the whole, so the figure is not that of a young child, though it is familiar that the true proportion for the young is not always observed by the ancients. According to Schadow's scale of proportions he should be between ten and eleven.

The boy is dressed for a cold climate, with a sleeved tunic, gathered in folds under the girdle, cloak fastened on the right shoulder with a quatrefoil brooch, and low shoes, tied with looped thongs. The left hand is empty, but the fingers seem to have held an object of some size, which appears to have been attached to the wrist, near the end of the sleeve. The extended right hand held the handle of some lost object. It is finished off with a roughly modelled knob at the lower end, and is on a slight curve, and gradually increases in diameter to the point at which it is broken off, between the thumb and the forefinger.

One curious detail in the costume calls for notice. In front of the boy's middle is a sort of broad scarf, which hangs down in a heavy central fold, and is gathered up at the sides to two objects which serve as suspenders. On his right side the folds of drapery are complete. On the left, they are only preserved for a length of about half an inch, and are then cut away, as if by intention, to make room for the fingers, and for the object held in the

hand. For these there would certainly not have been room, if the folds had been of a size corresponding to those of the other side.

For the singular scarf I cannot supply any near parallel. At first sight, the object might be taken for a fold in a hitched up tunic, but it is not so. In some of the late terracottas of Eroses and the like, something of the sort occurs as a wisp of drapery.¹ But there the figure is otherwise nude. When, as here, the figure is fully draped in a tunic, the motive for the scarf seems to disappear.

Still more remarkable than the scarf is the headdress, which may be provisionally called a tiara. It is evidently supposed to be made of a stiff material. At the base it is nearly square in plan. The sides are slightly longer than the front and back, and the back is slightly wider than the front. At the top it terminates in a ridge, with three knobs. Each side is divided by parallel ribs into two panels, on which palmette ornaments are incised. A flap, as of leather, falls down at the back.



FIG. 1.—SILVER COIN OF TIGRANES. (Brit. Mus.)

It might be supposed that the clue to the subject is to be found in this extraordinary tiara, but it is by no means obvious. Western Asia is a region of distinctive headdresses. Those of Assyria, Persia, Crete, the Hittites, the Cypriotes and the rest have certain common characteristics and distinguishing marks. But the boy is so evidently Hellenistic, or Graeco-Roman, that it seems useless to hunt among the nations in remoter centuries.

If we confine our view to about the first century B.C. the Armenian royal headdress suggests itself, and we have it in detail on the coins of Tigranes² (97-56 B.C.). It occurs with trifling variations on different coins (Fig. 1). Like the tiara of the bronze, it has a tapering form, terminating above in a ridge with a series of knobs, and it has a long flap behind. On the other hand the lower part is oval, not rectangular in plan. Instead of the palmettes, we have a design of two eagles flanking a star. The flap is not a single one, falling at the back, but double at the sides, in the Persian manner. In case of need they can be brought across the chin, or, occasionally, to overlap on the lower part of the front of the tiara.

There is a reason for making minute study of the Armenian tiara, in connexion with the bronze. When the discovery was fresh a highly romantic interpretation of the bronze was suggested, which now calls for statement and examination. Antony and Cleopatra, as the consequence of their *liaison*, had twin children, a boy and girl, born in 40 B.C., and named Alexander

¹ Compare a figure of a boy, once in the Green collection, and not I think, entirely above suspicion. I owe this reference to Miss

Hutton.

² *B.M.C. Seleucidæ*, Pl. 27.

Helios and Cleopatra Selene. There was also another child whom they called Ptolemy.

Some six years after the birth of the twins, Antony ejected Artavasdes from the throne of Armenia, and amused himself at Alexandria, redistributing the eastern kingdoms. I quote Plutarch's account² of the proceedings:—

'Antony incurred additional hatred, on account of the division amongst his children, which he made at Alexandria, and which was considered theatrical, and pretentious, and anti-Roman. He filled the gymnasium with a crowd; and set two golden thrones on a platform of silver, one for himself and one for Cleopatra, and others not so high for the children. First he declared Cleopatra queen of Egypt, and Cyprus, and Coelosyria, with Caesarion, reputedly her son by Caesar, to share her sovereignty. Next he declared his own and Cleopatra's sons kings of kings; and to Alexander he assigned Armenia and Media, and Parthia (whenever it should be conquered); to Ptolemy, Phoenicia, Syria and Cilicia. At the same time he brought forward the children, namely Alexander in Median costume, including tiara and erect kitaris; and Ptolemy with boots and cloak and hat (*causis*) with a diadem. The latter was the costume of the kings who succeeded Alexander, and the former was that of the Medes and Armenians. The boys saluted their parents, and then one was surrounded by a guard of Armenians and the other by a guard of Macedonians. Cleopatra, both then, and on other occasions when she appeared in public, wore the sacred robe of Isis, and was styled 'New Isis.'

The later career of Alexander Helios was inglorious. In 29 B.C. Augustus celebrated his threefold triumph. On the third day, which was the Egyptian triumph, Cleopatra was carried along on a couch, in effigy, to represent the fashion of her death, and the children Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene were among the prisoners. Plutarch states that Antony's much wronged wife Octavia took the children, and brought them up with her own, but from that point Alexander disappears from history.³

Plutarch's account of the scene at Alexandria has suggested the theory that the bronze represents Alexander Helios, in his brief moment of childish and precarious splendour. The interpretation is romantic and exciting, but it will hardly stand sober criticism.

The first objection is of a general *a priori* kind, that unfortunately things do not fall so pat in archaeology, as to give us in effigy a particular incident mentioned by Plutarch.

The Median costume would no doubt have included tunic and trousers. It also not infrequently includes a chlamys, but it seems on such monuments as the Sidon sarcophagi to be represented as a larger and more ample cloak than that of the boy, which is more suggestive of the Macedonian cloak worn by Ptolemy. But the main question is as to the form of the tiara, and we cannot do better than refer to the coins of Antony and Cleopatra, with Armenian symbols,⁴ for the shape which may be supposed to have furnished a model. On these the tiara is nearly of the form of that of Tigranes.

² *Plut. Antonius* 54. The story is closely paraphrased by Shakespeare, *Ant. and Cleop.*, Act III. sc. 6.

³ *Dio Cassius* 21, 21; *Plutarch, Antonius* 87.

⁴ Grueber, *Cat. of Coins of the Roman Republic*, Pl. 115, Figs. 19 and 15. Compare also the diadems of Augustus, *ibidem*, Pl. 119, Fig. 4.

which as we have seen is materially different from that of the bronze, with its rectangular plan, its absence of side flaps, and its single flap at the back.

The tiptoe attitude of the boy is common in late Greek and Graeco-Roman art for children, Erotes and the like, but it hardly seems appropriate to the suggested regal portrait.

The royal costume of Commagene is in some respects not unlike that of Armenia. It is preserved for us in the reliefs of the Nemrud Dagh.⁶ That mountain, the highest of the eastern part of the Taurus range, is crowned with the royal burying place of King Antiochos (who reigned 69-31 B.C.). It consists of a mighty tumulus, 150 feet in height. East and west of the

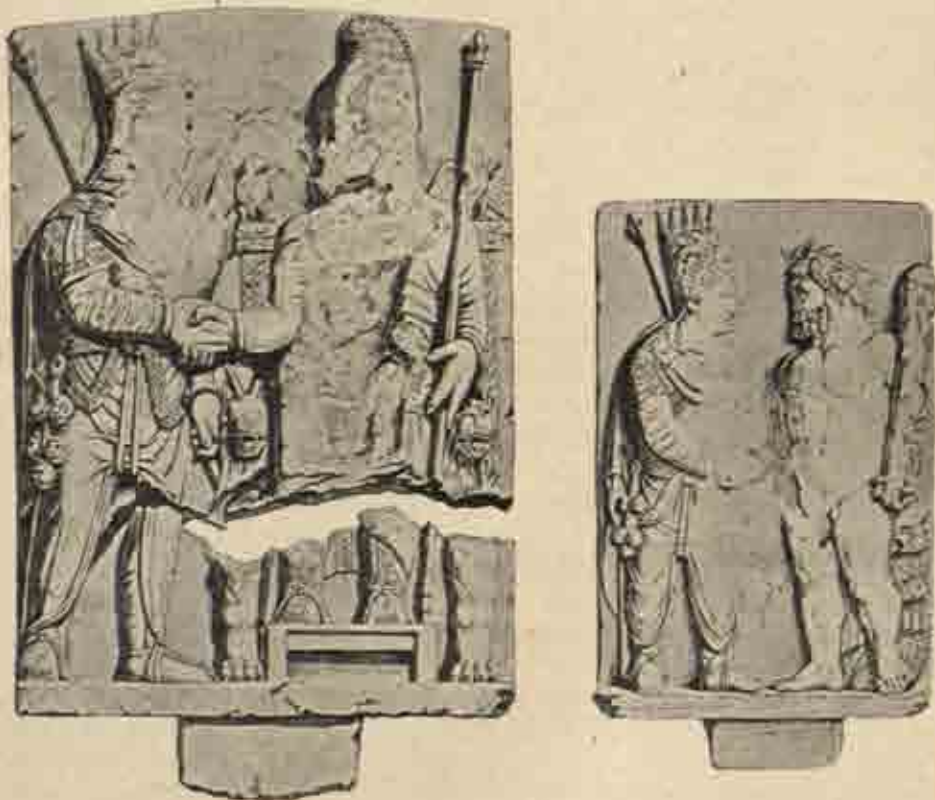


FIG. 2.—VOTIVE RELIEFS OF NEMRUD DAGH.

tumulus, and just at its origin, are the two terraces, with their rows of colossal statues, reliefs, and inscriptions. The reliefs consist partly of votive reliefs of royal ancestors; partly of Antiochos doing homage to divine patrons, to Zeus enthroned (Fig. 2a),⁷ to Heracles (Fig. 2b), Helios and

⁶ Hamann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, p. 232.

⁷ Hamann and Puchstein, *op. cit.*, *Atlas*, Pl. 39.

Commagene. Antiochos wears the royal tiara. The cheek pieces are crossed above his brow in the Heracles relief, one lapping over the other. In the Zeus relief, the illustration leaves some uncertainty on the point. The costume includes a long sleeved tunic, a cloak, trousers and shoes. The singular plan of looping up the skirt of the long tunic with thongs, to give freedom of action to the legs, seems to be peculiar to the group of reliefs.

It is noteworthy, however, for our present purpose, that besides the royal tiara of Antiochos, and the Persian tiara of Zeus, different forms of tiara-like headdresses are worn by many others of the figures, both statues and reliefs. One such figure appears to be a royal kinsman.⁴

I would therefore suggest that by the first century B.C. the use of a tiara-formed headdress was somewhat indiscriminate, and that it was no longer, as in earlier ages, the special privilege of the great king, and that if we were better informed as to the Hellenistic art of Western Asia we might find more examples of its occurrence. If that is admissible, we may look about for one of those personages who in more Western representations are all characterized by a conventional 'Phrygian cap,' but who in the East might occur with a more distinctive headdress. Among such persons, Ganymede, Orpheus, Mithras, Attis and others, I would suggest the eunuch Attis as most appropriate.

Little is known of the earlier forms of the Attis type, before it was debased in Roman art. Certain terracottas found in numbers at Amphipolis⁵ seem to represent the subject. The figure is that of a youth with tunic and sleeves, long close-fitting trousers, sometimes a short cloak, and a peaked Phrygian cap, with flaps. His attributes are a syrinx and a pedum. In the later empire, the subject becomes common in votive and other reliefs, in a degraded form. The tunic, closely clinging to the abdomen, has been abandoned for nude flesh. It is worth pointing out that the gathering of drapery below the abdomen corresponds in some measure with the peculiar body scarf of the bronze.

The attribute, of which the handle remains in the right hand, may be a pedum. The fingers of the left hand seem to have held something, but there would hardly be room for the tympanum which occurs on the late reliefs, and the position of the fingers is not right for a syrinx.

A. H. SMITH.

⁴ Hamann and Puchstein, *Atlas*, Pl. 35, p. 517; Pls. 5-8, Cf. Biardot, *Terracottes Grecques*, Pls. 16, 17.

⁵ Perdrizet, *Bull. de Corr. Hellénique*, xxi.

THE PARTHENOS.

THE recent publication of fragments of ivory statues in the *J.H.S.* has turned my thoughts to the Parthenos. It would be desirable to build up as complete a description as possible of this masterpiece of the world's art—a sort of verbal restoration, and I venture to offer the following notes as a basis for correction. To do the work thoroughly would be an elaborate piece of indexing evidences from a great number of authorities, a task for which I am in no way qualified.¹

The fragments just mentioned make the ivory part of the great work much more real to us, they show the polished surface, the accurate working of the joints in planes which must have been joined by glue, the colouring of lips and nostrils and the insertion of eyes in different materials. The colossal image must, as Furtwängler remarked, have been completed without the gold and ivory. The surface of the flesh parts was cut away in thin sections and renewed with ivory worked to the same form; sheet gold was then 'dressed,' as plumbers would say, over the core of the draped parts. I cannot think that this core could have been of wood, as that would have cracked and moved, it was rather of some plastic material. After fitting, the ivory sections were doubtless removed and strongly riveted together at the back as we rivet china. The sheet gold was about as thick as a visiting card and weighed forty talents.²

Fig. 1 is very slightly restored from the cast of the statuette at

¹ I have founded in the main on: an analysis of authorities in *A.J.A.*, (1911); Collignon's *Le Parthénon* (1910) which has full references; Dr. Farnell's *Culte of the Greek States* (vol. 1, 1896), a good general discussion; Mr. H. Stuart Jones's *Select Passages* (1893). The Berlin *Zeitschrift*, 1907, has an account of the Basis by Winter and an article by Puchstein in 1891 (vol. v.); see also *Die Athener Parthenon*, J. Schreiber, 1883. The small Varvakeion figure I shall call the statuette.

² Mr. A. E. Zimmern has some computations as to the cost of the Parthenon and the Parthenos in his *Greek Commonwealth* (1915, p. 419). He estimates the temple at £840,000 and the image at £1,200,000, but goes on to

state that the average expenditure between 447 and 438 was about 350 talents and the average between 438 and 431 was 650 talents. That is 3150 for the earlier period and 4550 for the second. As it is generally accepted that the statue was dedicated in 438 and that then most of the structure was also completed there is something wrong or unexplained. How the figures are obtained is not stated. Forty talents of gold are usually supposed to be about equal to the gold of 96,000 English sovereigns. According to Michaelis 'we know from ancient testimony that the chryselephantine statue had been put in position in 438, when the building must have been practically finished.'

the British Museum. If one worked on a photographic enlargement a restoration might be produced which would very nearly approximate to the effect of the original. The Parthenos is recorded to have been 26 cubits high, that is nearly 38 English feet. The Victory on her hand was nearly 4 cubits high. It is generally agreed that the 26 cubits must have included the Basis.* The figure was almost certainly some multiple of life-size, for a model would have been carefully worked out at that size so as to get all the parts and details properly in scale. Five times $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet would be $27\frac{1}{2}$ feet, leaving about 10 feet for the Basis and the tall crested helmet. The Basis



FIG. 1.—RESTORATION OF THE PARTHENOS.

was comparatively low, not more than 5 feet, so as not to be above the sight line. The enormous crest of the helmet may well have risen 5 feet over the head. We have some check on this estimate as the figure of Nike is said to have been nearly 4 cubits high. We probably may put this at life-size, say $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and it is about a fifth the height of the great statue. Again the

* Collignon states that the total height was 15 m. But the relative height of the Nike shows that this is wrong, and the interior

height of the cella was not more than 13 or 14 metres. Furtwängler estimates the statue and base as 12 m. in a cella of 14 m.

Varvakeion statuette is about half life-size and might very well be one-tenth of the original. The plan size of the Basis is also known.⁴ In the design and execution of such a colossal statue in such mixed materials questions of stability and construction were of the first importance. Indeed to Pheidias, who could design anything presented to his thought, it was mainly a problem of support and craftsmanship. All English writers, I believe, have objected to the pillar which propped the extended right hand of Athene on which rested the statue of Nike, a statue which was itself of human scale. Most have suggested that the pillar could not be original, while others have accepted it only as a sorry expedient. M. Collignon, who points out that external evidence for its existence goes back to the fourth century, seems to lean to the view that it was not original. Dr. Farnell, who also appreciates the strength of the evidence, wrote—'Would Pheidias, if he had found some support necessary, have been content with a mere architectural pillar contributing nothing to the meaning of the whole?' Professor E. Gardner in the last edition of his *Handbook* says: 'So clumsy an expedient has been received with astonishment. Yet the evidence seems strong that a column existed when the copies were made. The best explanation seems to be that the statue as Pheidias designed it had no such support, but that some defect made it necessary to add a support, however unsightly.'

In a little book published nearly ten years ago I expressed the view that the pillar was not a mere prop added unwillingly—even if at the time—to a statue designed independently. To me it is an essential part of the design and a fundamental factor in the choice of the pose which leads to an understanding of the whole treatment and meaning of the work; for a certain pose requires a definite explanation.

The pillar was required to fill up the basis and to balance the shield, serpent, and spear on the other side.⁵ Further, from the great size of the statue, it was desirable to bring its head as far forward as possible lest it should become ineffective. By resting her arm on the pillar the goddess was able to lean slightly forward, although she supported the Nike on her hand. The free way in which the left foot is thrown back also confirms this view, as one may find by standing in this attitude while resting the arm on the back of a chair. Only thus does the pose become easy and natural. The attitude would have been distressing to contemplate unless the Nike-bearing hand were resting. Dr. Farnell urges that in the parallel case of the Zeus of Olympia the weight-bearing arm was unsupported, but this is surely a

⁴ Since writing so far I have found a careful study of the dimensions by Miss Perry in *A.J.A.* vol. xi, with which I have been in close agreement. It is argued that the 26 cubits included the Basis, that the great image was five times life size and that the statuette was half the scale of life. The size of the statuette is given as 1.035 m. high including the base of 0.103 m. Wishing to make the image without accessories the round

dimension of 30 Greek feet, Miss Perry put the life size at 5 feet 10 inches, English. The Basis of the Zeus at Olympia was only about 3½ feet high. My final estimate for the Parthenon would be: Basis 4 feet: figure and shoes 28 feet: erect 5 feet: total 37 feet = about 26 Greek cubits.

⁵ See diagram given by Winter and compare with that given by Schreiber.

mistake as it rested fully on the side of the throne (Fig. 2). At a little later time the leaning one arm on a pillar became a commonplace of design even on vase-paintings and reliefs. Miss Jane Harrison says that the Parthenos had nothing in common with 'these lolling attitudes.' Perhaps not, but what made the fashion? The Amazon of Ephesus leans on a pillar. On this Furtwängler remarks: 'Pheidias had given a support to the Parthenos though only technical and not as here part of the composition.' But even this I do not believe.⁶ There is an absurdity to begin with in supposing that Victory had flown on to Athene's hand like a tame bird. The Nike is a statuette compared to the great figure, and a mere symbol. My reading of the work is that Athene has accepted a figure of Nike dedicated in her honour and representing the whole splendid temple which was a thank-offering for assistance—a Victory Temple. 'The Parthenon was erected by the triumphant city and by it Athens saluted the goddess.' (Collignon.)

For centuries it had been the custom to set up memorial- and votive pillars supporting statues in and about temples and the larger of these steles were about the size of the pillar of the Parthenos.⁷ Now Plutarch has recorded the fact that Pheidias had inscribed his name on the stele of the Parthenos.⁸ Mr. Stuart Jones however (disliking the prop) has elected



FIG. 2.—ZEUS OF OLYMPIA.

to translate stele as 'slab' and turn it into the floor of the basis on which the statue stood. He adds that the column would have been called *kion*; but surely a stele might be called a stele. My reading of the 'plot' is this—Athene has set down her shield and leaned her spear against her shoulder to accept the thank-offering of her people. 'In her right hand the goddess supports an image of Victory with drooping wings and turned partly towards her.' The image of Nike has been taken from its stele and in its place Athene rests her arm, accepting at once the figure and the pillar. At the same time she throws back her left foot in an attitude of standing at ease: Furtwängler's suggestion that she was stepping forward to welcome her worshippers won't do, for you cannot step forward holding a shield which rests on the ground, and with a spear loosely held with its end on the ground.

⁶ The Aphrodite of Cnidus had a support contrived in a more sophisticated manner.

⁷ About 13 feet high. Miss Harrison speaks of 'the countless dedicatory columns lately

found on the Acropolis.'

⁸ The Zeus of Olympia and Hera of Argos and Nemesis of Rhamnus and Lemnian Athens were also signed.

Even those who will feel that the explanation offered here is too complete must, I think, admit that the goddess really leant on the stele. The Nike herself was crowned with leaves and turning towards Athene held out a garland.⁹

All are agreed as to the thought of Victory. Furtwängler makes it the occasion of a pronouncement—Pheidias gave expression to much of that from which the blossoms of the time of Pericles sprang: strength that commands respect, armed peace after victorious battles, soul and intellect, and lastly wealth in abundance.¹

The most extravagantly high-crested and ornately decorated helmet was required so that the head should not be dwarfed by the immense size of the parts near the spectator. The skirt of the peplos fell in strong vertical folds to the floor; the upper part was full at the sides, filling out against the arms, both of which had this support as far as the elbows. The drooping arm supported by the shield had a wonderful flowing grace which even in the dry little copy reminds me of some of the women's arms in the pedimental sculptures. These great ivory arms, however, were so arranged that they could not have 'told' like the gleaming face, reinforced as it was with eyes of precious stones, jewelled necklace and earrings, and the splendid gilt helmet. The overlap of the peplos fell very low beneath the girdle and was freely relieved from the 'skirt,' so as to break up the otherwise plain lower part.

Above the middle of the helmet was a winged Sphinx, bearing a high and flowing crest. Parallel to it were winged Pegasi supporting two other crests, and outside these were cheek-flaps hinged and turned upwards, on which were reliefs of griffons. The four lateral additions were not fixed upright, but so as to radiate when seen from the front. The front rim of the helmet was decorated with ornamental reliefs, and just above it the fore-parts of several galloping beasts projected. The Berlin head and two gems in the British Museum show that these were horses and this is supported by the fact that such half horses are found on a number of elaborate terra cotta vases found in South Italy. The effect must have suggested the galloping horses of a chariot. This throwing forward of the brow fell in with several expedients to attract attention to the head. The goddess's face was perhaps slightly more oval and youthful than the statuette alone would suggest, but the type of this is Pheidian. Short curls of hair fell from the helmet on to the cheeks, and smaller locks appeared above the temples. Two long tresses dropped on each shoulder. These freely falling tresses were doubtless coils of wrought gold.¹⁰ The mouth of Athene was full and slightly open. In

⁹ In the Inscription Hall of the B.M. is a small fragment of an inscribed fluted stele of early date and probably about 14 or 15 inches in diameter. In *A.J.A.* (vol. II.) an account is given of 'an inscribed Doric stele' from Assos. Puchstein illustrated a small inscribed Doric capital (Fig. 39) from a similar early

stele. A great number of Ionic form are known; indeed I have ventured to suggest that the Ionic type of capital was first developed in these 'stelae.'

¹⁰ Separate curls, but of lead, seem to have been applied to the Athena statue. The Caryatids of the Erechtheum, which closely

consequence of the great size of the mouth the upper teeth at least must have been seen and the chance of representing them in ivory might hardly have been neglected. Dr. Farnell makes it an objection to the Berlin head that the teeth are showing, but many of the Centaurs of the metopes have their teeth wonderfully rendered.¹¹ The eyes were wide open and the pupils were of precious stones, which doubtless flashed (Plato, *Hippias Maj.* p. 290 B). A little bronze in the British Museum has diamonds for this purpose. The painted head at Berlin indicates blue-black as the colour of the irises. The statuette has a yellow pupil outlined with red and black iris and the eyelashes are indicated. Collignon quotes a record which says the irises were black. The eyeballs must have been of specially white stone or quartz. The eyes would have been surrounded, as was usual where they were inserted in a different material, by eyelashes. A large marble statue of Apollo at Munich, which Furtwängler says represents a temple statue of the Pheidon time, has eyes of white stone, the pupils of which were inlaid, and also eyelashes of thin bronze. An interesting head from Cyrene in the British Museum (1506) has eyes of the same kind.¹²

The Roman version of the head of the Parthenos at Berlin has red in the corners of the eyes and on the lids, while the upper lash is shaded with black. The eyebrows as well as



FIG. 3.—FROM CRYTA AT R.M.

followed the Parthenos in many respects, had long curls falling free although cut in the marble. Spiral curls are found on some bronze heads. The hair of the Zeus of Olympia also fell freely around his neck, for according to Lucian single locks weighed six minae (Fig. 2).

¹¹ According to Pliny, Polygnotos the painter was the first to open mouths and let the teeth be seen. Slightly open mouths were general in the next generation. One fine head from the Heraeum has the mouth open and teeth showing: Waldstein, *Argos*, Pl. XXXII.

¹² The marble of this head is of a particularly fine ivory-like texture, highly polished, and the hair was applied in a separate material—doubtless gilt bronze. This work is described in the Catalogue as—'Head worked to fit a socket, the hair or helmet was also separate. The eyes have inlaid eye-balls surrounded by thin plates of bronze which may have represented eyelashes. The pupils were of inlaid stones or glass paste.' This head is

called male; but from the form of the hair line on the forehead, which begins high in the middle thus — and passes close above the eyebrows and in front of the ears, over which the hair swept in projecting masses, it appears rather to be female; the sharp eyebrows, oval face, delicate ears, and rounded neck, confirm this view. Indeed it seems to me to be a version of the Velletti Athens. Since coming to this conclusion I have found that a head of the Velletti type was found at Cyrene, and by a curious chance it is illustrated by Smith and Porcher on the same plate as the 'male head.' They look little alike because one is set looking down and the other is looking rather upwards. Note, however, the similarity of the cutting below the throat for insertion into the drapery. For marbles imitating ivory see a head of Athens illustrated in Farnell's *G.G.S.* i. p. 308. In these we get the technique of the acrolitha. The fragments of the arm of the Athens of Priene in the R.M. still show high polish and the statue must have been acrolithic.

the hair were coloured dull red. The eyebrows of the ivory fragment in the Vatican were also painted. The great arches of the eyebrows of the original must have been represented as well as the eyelashes¹² which were delicate fringes veiling the hardness of the inserted eyes. There was a fashion in eyelashes about the middle of the fifth century; the fine Chatsworth bronze head of Apollo c. 460 is an original example, and eyelashes even appear on vase paintings and on some coins of Syracuse. The edges of the eyelids would have been painted red.

The neck seems to have had the horizontal beauty crease like that of the Laborde head. The rich earrings and necklace which the goddess wore were of course separately made and applied; they were doubtless jewelled. The streaming horsehair crests were scarlet, as shown by the statuette.



FIG. 4.—FROM VASE.

That painting was used on the ivory work is, as has been said above, brought out by the lately published ivory masks. The peplos, a vast area of sheet gold as big as a large carpet, cannot have been left without interesting detail and this is especially evident of the expanse above the lower hem which was close to the spectator. The robes of the Zeus of Olympia had animals and lilies wrought on them in colour. The draperies of the Athene also, it is safe to conclude, were delicately decorated with enamel-like colour. In the *Iliad*, Athene has a vesture of many colours that herself had wrought. "Every inch of material was an opportunity for art" (Pliny). The borders only of the peplos are gilt on the statuette, and this must point to some difference of treatment in the original; compare also Fig. 3 from an engraved cista in the B.M. which shows many reflections from the Parthenos. Fig. 4 from a fine vase at Karlsruhe, shows the sort of decoration which might be expected. The sculpture of Zeus was wrought in various metals, and accounts of bronze statues show a liking for such mixtures which doubtless were used in the Parthenos too.

Her vesture, peplos or Doric chiton, was open on the right side; the fashion and fall of this has a peculiar freshness which to my mind is only matched by Furtwängler's Lemnian.¹⁴ "Fine linen the maidens had on"

¹² See also *J.H.S.* 1910, vol. xxxi, p. 375 for eyelashes and eyebrows. Many statues of the great time have projecting ridges along the eyebrows which must frequently have been painted. The fine bronze head of Augustus recently added to the B.M. collection has eyebrows and eyelashes and eyes of white stone with dark irises and pupils of a different material. For imitative eyes see

J.H.S. 1915, p. 272, and *Dar. and Saglio, Statuaria*. The iris was probably crystal painted at the back.

¹⁴ Still scholars hold out against this identification, which seems proved to me by considerations beyond Furtwängler's reasons: the likeness of this girlish type of figure and face to the seated Athene of the east frieze; the close resemblance to the Athene of the

(*Il.* xviii. 595). Vivacity, brilliance, life, were the ideals, there were as yet no canons of taste which insisted that sculptures should be dull and dreary and dead.

The aegis seems to have been put on rather loosely, projecting around the edges and casting a shadow; it was patterned over with scales and the great Medusa's head set at the centre was of ivory. The serpents around the edge of the aegis were energetically twisting and flapping. Other serpents formed her girdle and her bracelets. Sandal straps doubtless divided up the ivory surface of the feet.

One of the best authorities for the head is the gold medallion at Petrograd which is usually (as in *A.J.A.*) dated c. 400 B.C. It cannot, however, be much earlier than 200, as is shown by the continuous meander of the border, a pattern which was not developed until a late time. This medallion shows an owl resting on one of the cheek-pieces of the helmet. There is no other direct authority for this, but owls were frequently associated with statues and other figures of Athene,¹⁵ and, further, many coins of a time directly following that of the making of the Parthenos

have owls decorating the helmet of Athene. Mr. G. F. Hill has kindly referred me to six coins of Cumae, Naples (2), Hyria, Nola and Allifa, all in South Italy, and dating between 420 and 330 B.C.

An owl was associated with the head of Athene on opposite sides of the coins of Athens for more than a century before Pheidias designed the Parthenos. An eagle was perched on the long staff-sceptre of Zeus at Olympia and a cuckoo on that of Hera at Argos. These birds were about the height of the heads of these two great temple statues. On the medallion the owl of Athene perches so perfectly on the rounded rim of the raised cheek-flap of the helmet of the Parthenos that it seems probable that the curious arrangement of turning these flaps up at an angle was contrived for this very purpose. Moreover, putting the owl here falls in with the problem of giving the head of the great figure arresting interest. See also Reinach's *Vases*, i. 331, where an owl is actually perched on



FIG. 6.—*PROMACHOS*
FROM COIN

western gable with her diagonally worn aegis; and an affinity with Myron's Athene. Fig. 5 is from a drawing by Stuart at the B.M. of the now much injured stone case at Athens which shows a diagonal aegis. It is, I think, sure that Furtwängler's *Lemnia* was at Athens and was a work of the time of Pheidias. Fig. 6 is enlarged from what seems



FIG. 5.—FROM MARBLE
VASE.

to have been an especially clear rendering of the *Promachos* on a coin illustrated in Leake's *Athens*. Comp. Fig. 4.

¹⁵ See Fig. 28 in Miss Harrison's *Mythology and Monuments*, where A. carries one in her hand, and an attitude on Athene's Owl in *J.H.S.* xxiii 1912.

Athene's helmet. Altogether the evidence for the owl is as strong as may be short of proof. The saying of Demosthenes—'Oh mistress Athene who dwellest in the citadel, why dost thou so delight in three such strange monsters, thy owl, thy serpent, and thy people?' is a final confirmation.

Dr. Farnell suggests that the Sphinx on the helmet (which was an important feature and pointed out as a special beauty) typified Wisdom. Explanation of symbolism is a dangerous pastime, but in this case it seems convincing. It almost follows, of course, that the winged horses which, like the Sphinx, were nearly three feet long, had a meaning beyond mere decoration. They most obviously signified swiftness and the griffons watchfulness. The griffons guarded the ears, the Pegasus were directly over the eyes, the Sphinx was exalted in the middle. In the language of art this must have meant attention to hear, swift penetration of sight, and the governance of wisdom. This was indeed a helmet of salvation and crown of virtues. In the Homeric Hymn to Athene are the words 'Gleaming eyes, ready mind, unbending heart.'

The Centaur battle which was wrought on the rims of the sandals cannot have been only ornamental, indeed such little figures, perhaps four inches high, would be rather ridiculous in such a position if a 'symbolic' meaning were not attached. The meaning must have been that the goddess was shod with the preparation of order. She had aided her chosen people to put beastliness under foot. C. O. Müller wrote long ago of the Zeus: 'The idea was that of the omnipotent ruler hearing and benignantly granting the prayers of men. In it the Greeks beheld Zeus face to face. To see it was an anodyne, not to have seen it was a calamity.' Dr. Farnell



FIG. 7.—LILY.

says that the Graces and Hours on the back of Zeus's throne 'expressed the character of the god as the Orderer of the Seasons and the Disposer of the fruitfulness and beauty of the year.'¹⁶ And the lilies on his robe 'we may probably interpret as the symbol of immortality.' Fig. 7, from a vase, shows the sort of thing meant by lilies.

Athene's spear-shaft was a great reed (?); the spear-head may have rested point downwards, as in several reliefs and vase paintings, but Pliny's account of the Sphinx seems against this. A little relief at the British Museum (among others) (Fig. 8) shows the angle at which the spear rested. As constructive rigidity was required for the pillar which supported the right arm of the goddess it was probably of bronze—a tubular stanchion.¹⁷ Bronze was used in the great work, for Pliny says that the Sphinx of the helmet was bronze; doubtless all three of the crest-bearing animals were castings of this material. The serpent and shield also acted as supports on the side opposite the pillar and these, too, we may suppose were of bronze. The serpent must have

¹⁶ This is curiously parallel to the Zodiacs and labours of the year in chief places in mediaeval churches.

¹⁷ This stole has a base but yet the roughly

indicated capital is not Ionic. It suggests something more like a Corinthian capital and may indeed have had stole-like foliage at the top of delicate leaves and spirals.

been at least twenty feet long, and as it was one of the specially admired features it must have had delightful details. The statuette had the serpent coloured yellow on the head with a red beard and the scales of the creature were drawn in brown above and red below.¹⁹

The Hermitage disc shows even the little serpents of the aegis mottled on the surface. Dr. Murray has remarked of the great serpent that 'a combination of bronze and gold is suggested by the natural colours.' It appears from an inscription that the Gorgon's head at the centre of the shield was of silver gilt.²⁰ Silver applications on bronze would be a natural combination. The interior of the shield was painted with a battle of gods and giants.²¹ The handles and straps must have been fully imitated (Fig. 3). The Parthenos was imagined and imaged as the protector of the city, strong, alert, and full of good will. She was there always the same, but she ever anew welcomed her worshippers and accepted their offerings. She has set her spear for a moment against her left shoulder and leans forward smiling—speaking. The thought embodied in the pediments shows that Pheidias aimed at the expression of action, life, drama. In the words of an ancient author, quoted by Dr. Farnell, the Parthenos represented 'a beautiful maiden of high stature and gleaming eyes in no way inferior to the goddess in Homer's poetry.'²²

One point which I intended to bring out has been overlooked. The frontality of the statue, the direct gaze, the archaic dress, the long tresses of hair and the grotesque Gorgon's head on the breast, all show that an archaic form of the goddess was the foundation of the design. It was a translation of consummate skill of the xoanon type into Pheidias terms. This again is an argument for a moment of rest in the pose and for a deep aegis protecting the breast. If the aegis had not come below the slope above the breasts it would not have been seen in a close-in view and but little any way, as much



FIG. 3.—RELIEF IN R.M.
(1773).

¹⁹ *Att. Mus.* v. pp. 377-8.

²⁰ Köhler in *Att. Mus.* v. p. 96. A battle of the Centaurs was executed by the celebrated silver chaser Mya on the shield of the Promachos, Sellers, *Pliny's Chapters on Art*, p. 3.

²¹ See Cecil Smith, *B.S.A.* vol. iii. Cf. Datt. and Saglio, *Cléopâtre*: a shield painted in side also appears on the Alexander sarcophagus. See also our Fig. 4. Pliny, *N. H.* 36, 18, refers directly to the shield of the Parthenos as painted by Pheidias.

²² While writing this I have come to the conclusion that our national impersonation

Britannia which we have in our possession comes to us from the Parthenos herself. The first step was on the coin of Lysonmachus (c. 300) where is a seated version of the Parthenos holding the Nike in her right hand, her left leaning on her shield and her spear resting against her shoulder. The next step was the Britannia of the Roman coins which was as evidently adopted from the coin just mentioned or from some later one of the same type. Finally the Britannia of the coins of Charles II. was obviously, as Forster points out, taken from the Roman coins.

of it would have been covered by the curls. Here I trust the Varvakeion and other copies rather than the Patras statuette which may be a less accurate copy so far as it is a better original work of art. This general view of the Parthenos sweeps aside much argument as to the immaturity of the style of Pheidias; a wilful archaism is common in religious images.

An Athene on a vase c. 500 B.C. is very close to the type of the Parthenos (Hoppin, *Euthymides*, Pl. XXXIX.) in many respects. Here we have the spear leaning against the left shoulder which is a formula for rest. This too is a welcoming scene. Compare also Fig. 28 in Miss Harrison's *Mythology and Monuments*.

Reliefs.—On the exterior of the enormous shield was wrought a battle of Greeks and Amazons. This composition is represented by the 'Strangford Shield,' which is a large fragment of a small and poor copy of late date. It is about 19 inches in diameter and we may perhaps assume that it was an eighth of full size as the original must have been about 13 feet. From the fact that this crude copy has the two figures which were said to represent Pericles and Pheidias,²² as described, and because some of the other figures are repeated on the shields of the Lenormant and Patras statuettes it may be accepted as being to some extent accurate although failing in skill and spirit. It does not seem to be a fragment from a statue but a copy of the shield alone.

There are two fragments of similar shields at Rome. I suppose that they were all cheap trade productions for visitors to Athens. The figures were distributed according to the method commonly used in painting, the surface being broken up by waving lines suggesting different planes and levels: a fine vase at Naples has the Amazon battle represented in this way. From the climbing attitudes of some of the figures it appears that steep rocky ground was represented, the action taking place on several ledges. The scene is doubtless some struggle in the legendary siege of Athens by the Amazons.²³

The fragment of the shield in the Vatican, illustrated by Michaelis, fortunately came from the top left-hand sector and shows a group of four or five Amazons who were evidently opposite the head of the attacking column on the right. The other fragment, in the Capitoline Museum, which is illustrated by Schreiber, came from, or near, the same part. It shows a Greek

²² The identification of two of the figures with Pheidias and Pericles falls in with a common tendency to form myths of explanation. On the throne of Zeus at Olympia a figure binding his hair with a fillet, who must have been specially charming (and the prototype of the statue by Polykleitos?) was said to have been a boy beloved by Pheidias. A figure in the painting of the Taking of Troy by Polygnotus was said to be a sister of Gnomos beloved by the painter.

²³ A similar scheme is clearly brought out in the larger Niobe disc at the British

Museum where 'the figures are irregularly disposed in four tiers on the rocky background.' This resemblance, indeed, proves that the Niobe disc is not a modern forgery as Overbeck thought. Partwangles, on the contrary, thought that some of the figures showed echoes of Phidias types. My own view is that the Niobe disc is similar hack-work to the Strangford shield produced by arranging some famous Niobe elements on the plan of the Parthenon Shield and perhaps as a companion to a larger copy of that work.

attacking an Amazon from behind with an axe. The chief action of the Greeks was from the bottom left, climbing upwards to the right and attacking at the top the main body of Amazons. A few Amazons are isolated on the right and a few Greeks scale the rocks on the left. The attitudes are energetic to fury, striking, climbing, falling; one soldier turns his back thrusting at an enemy beyond. Little of the master's beauty remains in the frigid, rigid little copy, but theories of Pheidias restraint and limitation are set aside by its evidence and the slender dying Amazons were definitely pathetic. The main thought, as in the picture of the Taking of Troy by Polygnotos, was of the double tragedy of war—Victory and Defeat. At the centre of the lowest tier of action on



FIG. 9.—FROM STRANGFORD SHIELD.

the shield, lay with one arm over her head a wounded Amazon whom 'Pericles' was slaying with his spear (Fig. 9). This Amazon was evidently an exquisite figure, echoes of which were far passed on in Greek sculpture—the Amazon of Ephesus and the dying Amazons of Pergamon both derived from this source.²⁴ I have found the dying Amazon repeated again on late sarcophagus reliefs of Amazon battles. One of these is at Messara,



FIG. 10.—FROM SARCOPHAGUS.

Italy (Fig. 10). A Greek soldier, 'Pericles' has his foot on her body and is thrusting his spear into her throat. Another group of a Greek who has seized an Amazon by the hair also seems to be an echo of the shield. Two other versions of the dying Amazon are found on sarcophagi from Algeria and Cyprus.²⁵ A

third group on the shield was probably of an Amazon supporting a sister. Benndorf thought that Polygnotos had such a pair of which there are echoes at Trysa and Bassae, and also, I may add, at the Nike-temple. Compare also two figures on a vase figured by Miss Harrison (*Myth. and Mon.* p. 260) and two on the beautiful Niche slab at the Hermitage. On the Strangford shield the Amazons are attired in the typical later form. On the sarcophagi the figure of the dying Amazon seems to be fully draped. As

²⁴ If the best known of the Ephesus wounded Amazons was inspired by the shield of the Parthenon, that would seem to be a point against the former being a work of the great Polykleitos. Some writers have supposed that the story of the competition applied to projects for one Amazon, but that is obviously impossible as they are so much alike. To explain the striking resemblances of the four members of the group Furtwängler

supposed that four artists 'came to some agreement.' It is much more likely that the statues were done in one shop as a group of attendants on Artemis and probably in Ephesus itself for the new temple. Of Polykleitos followed Pheidias closely; see note 32.

²⁵ Reinach's *Reliefs*, III. 58, and II. 1, and II. 138. The last also has the motive of the dying hero derived from the Alexander sarcophagus. Compare a Lydian tomb in the B.M.

the later formula was not established so late as the time of the Mausoleum frieze we must suppose that the Strangford shield is not to be trusted on this point.

The Great Basis.—The *Bathron*, as it is called in an inscription,²⁵ was adorned with figures of silver gilt. These figures were probably between two and three feet high and in the highest relief. The metopes of the Parthenon are in high-relief, parts being detached from the backgrounds which were painted blue or red. For the Basis, figures in high relief applied against a background of marble²⁶ would best explain the treatment of the Basis of the temple statue at Rhamnus by Agorakritos, the favourite pupil of Pheidias. Of this basis beautiful fragments of white marble figures, about 20 inches high, have been found, which were set against a background which may have been of black stone like the frieze of the Erechtheum, another variant of the treatment.

The Parthenon Basis, which may also have been partly of black marble, was about 25 feet on the front and half as much from front to back. The subject of the sculpture was, according to Pausanias, the Birth of Pandora—Hesiod and other poets have told how that Pandora was the first of women. The subject was thus connected with the creation of the Athenian Eve, the Greek Genesis.

There can be little doubt what Pandora herself was like and the central group of three figures probably closely resembled those on the *Anesidora* vase at the British Museum. In this most exquisite work Pandora stands upright, her feet close together and her arms drooping by her side, the hands holding her garment—she has not yet moved. Hephaistos has put a diadem on her head and Athena seems to have been attaching a necklace, of which the string is in her extended left hand, the rest being hidden.²⁷ According to Hesiod, Athene decked Pandora with a robe and Hephaistos placed a golden diadem which he had made on her head. If this cylix is earlier than the basis of the Parthenon,²⁸ a second vase painting at the British Museum (*J.H.S.*

²⁵ Köhler, *Arch. Mitt.*, vol. 1, p. 91.

²⁶ The Basis at Olympia was of dark grey marble about 3 feet 7 inches high with mouldings above and below. The latter showed where small figures of metal had been attached. *Olympus* II, p. 13. Fig. 11 is from a drawing of a vase, in a collection at the V. and A. Museum, made about a century since. It shows how low these bases were and incidentally gives an interesting type of Artemis.

²⁷ The evidence for the necklace seems not to have been noticed. It has been said that Hephaistos is lowering a diadem by a string but that must be the other end of the necklace which he has just made. The golden diadem is already on her head. He has his hammer in his hand. Certainly this is the Adorning of Pandora. Pheidias's drapery is spotted over with little crosses, so is the dress of the Aphrodite of the swan on another white cylix

which must, I think, be by the same master.

²⁸ On the whole I suppose this must be accepted, but I am drawn to see in it a copy of the Basis. There is a sculptural quality about the drawing of Hephaistos which suggests this and the whole work is perfectly mature, the gilding on ruined work also suggests a later rather than an earlier date. On the other hand it is very like some fragments in the Louvre which have been attributed to Euphronios (Gérard, *La Peinture Antique*, p. 183). 'I do not think that one may dream of purer drawing or nearer to the style of Polygnotos.' The types of heads and hair dressing are strikingly similar in the two works. Polygnotos was still working when the Parthenon works were begun in 447. According to Furtwängler the Aphrodite and swan cup was probably painted by Sitades. I doubt if it is necessary to date the Pandora

xi. Pl. XL) is certainly later. Here too, Pandora stands, a semi-lifeless figure, in the middle, with pendent hands which carry sprigs of vegetation. Athene, again on the left, gives her a garland, and further to the right and left are other gods and dancing nymphs—Graces and Hours? There are also in another row dancing Satyrs astonished at the sight. Satyrs, I suppose, were an older race than men—there were giants on the earth in those days. There is yet a third Pandora vase at Oxford (*J.H.S.* xxi. Pl. L) on which the birth of Cleopatra is shown with Olympian gods as spectators. A closer comparison of the vase paintings than I have been able to make at the present time might yield important suggestions for the Parthenon Basis. The injured traces of the central figure on the Basis-copy found at Pergamon certainly show a stiff figure with drooping arms and facing front.

Portions of six figures in relief have been found on this Basis-copy. This relief has been studied by Puchstein in the *Berlin Jahrbuch*, vol. v. and by Winter in vol. xxii. (1911).²⁰ On the original there were twenty-one figures but not more than nine or ten could have appeared on the reduced Pergamon base. According to Puchstein there were ten figures disposed in two groups approaching one another, and the Birth of Pandora itself, which would have been treated on the original as on the *kylix* in the British Museum, was in the copy left out. Winter also thinks there were ten figures on the copy, but that two of them formed the central action, and he argues with great fulness that, although we are told there were in all twenty-one figures on the original, there too the composition fell into two parts (not halves) on either side of a central interval.

Collignon, however, says of the same copied basis that on it figures surrounded a young woman at the centre. So far as I can judge from the illustrations an interval is nearer the actual centre than a figure; but on the other hand the figures on the left appear to be more closely spaced than those on the right, and as it is the figure which is supposed to have been the fifth, which must be Pandora, it is most likely that there were not more than nine persons on this reduced work. I have no doubt indeed from what is left of this 'central' figure that Miss Jane Harrison was practically right in saying (in 1900) that the central group would have been like the figures of



FIG. II.—PANDORA (V) VASE.

cup earlier than c. 450. In the style of these white ground vases we see some of the influences which went to the forming of the immaculate freshness and noble gaiety of the

style of Phidias.

²⁰ According to Winter it was probably ordered by Eumenes II. and carved at Athens.

Athene, Pandora, and Hephaistos on the almost contemporary Anesidora cylix in the British Museum. The figure of Pandora on the basis-copy as on the cylix faced to the front, her right hand dropped straight at her side, and she doubtless looked to her right. At Pandora's left on the basis-copy seems to be a male, and this would agree with the Hephaistos of the cylix. On the cylix (where there are only three figures in all) Pandora has on her right Athene; on the basis-copy, however, there is a group of three females who seem to have arrived hurriedly, none of whom seems to be Athene. The three look more like Seasons or Graces. They are not actually hand in hand, but there is a rhythm in their attitudes which suggests that they had come up in that way.

According to Hesiod's story Hephaistos

'Took clay and moulded an image, in form of a maiden fair,
And Athene the grey-eyed goddess girt her and decked her hair.
And about her the Graces divine and our Lady Persuasion set
Bracelets of gold on her flesh; and about her others yet,
The Hours with their beautiful hair, twined wreaths of blossoms of spring.
While Pallas Athene still ordered her decking in everything.'

(From version given by Miss Harrison.)

If there were twenty spectators on the original Basis, many more than the great gods must have been present; and enough is left of the group of three figures on the Pergamon-Basis-copy to convince me that they were the Graces ('Charites') and represented figures by Pheidias.²¹ The last of the three is draped in the fashion which became most popular: the deep turnover falls to an arched line just above a second line caused by a fulness above the girdle. Some of the maidens of the Parthenon frieze are dressed in this way. The overlap of the chiton has its folds dragged sideways and at the back a mantle falls from the shoulder. This is the scheme of the draping of the Eirene of Kephisodotos of which Furtwängler has remarked that it was a reversion to Pheidian types. It may, however, be more significant that Eirene was reckoned one of the Hours by Hesiod and Pindar, and she was probably adapted from the Basis as carrying on a Pheidian type.²²

On the Basis-copy from Pergamon, another of these figures displays another Pheidian motive: one of the Grace-goddesses gathers her flowing mantle with her pendent right hand against her thigh, while the lifted left holds it above her left shoulder. This action is found on the west metope of the south side of the Parthenon. The holding of the mantle with the hand in this way appears to signify arrival or departure.²³ The same action is

²¹ Winter and Collignon are agreed as to the Pheidian style.

²² Persephone of the Ephesus column is also dressed in this way and I may say here that I have come to the conclusion that this figure was holding the ends of her girdle; cf. some vase paintings: it is a variation of the boy and Eileithyia mentioned above.

²³ The figure of Triptolemos on the noble relief from Eleusis holds his mantle in this way. With other Pheidian characteristics it makes me think that this was indeed an original work by the master. The whole motive is like that of the central group of the Olympia basis and also like the Anesidora copy.

made by the last of the three Graces as figured on some later reliefs; see one in the Vatican figured by Miss Harrison (*M. and M.* p. 375). The middle figure on the Basis-copy has the left hand dropped at ease appearing slightly in advance of the body; this is found frequently on the frieze and the action is almost typical for the Graces. The most advanced figure on the Basis-copy, who is also draped in Pheidian style, seems to have held something in her hands. (Compare the Birth of Aphrodite on a vase at Genoa.)

The Seasons ('Hours') as well as the Graces were represented on the throne of Zeus at Olympia and on the crown of Hera at Argos. Both Hours and Graces were probably present on the Basis of the Parthenos and together formed a choir of Nymphs. The lines quoted from Hesiod could not in such a place have been overlooked. A Grace was on the Basis at Olympia, and I have been drawn to think that the best attributions for the three 'Fates' of the E. Pediment would be Hestia, Charis, and Aphrodite.

I had got so far before I read the long article on the Graces in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionary* and that has opened up new ground. Following Furtwängler it is there suggested that three figures forming a group on the eastern frieze of the temple of Nike Apteros (c. 420) are the Graces—'three young girls in floating chitons going to the right with a light dancing step, but without holding hands.' This might just as well describe our three 'graceful' figures from the Basis-copy. Turning to the illustrations I find a close resemblance to the group on the Basis, and there was a second group to the right. Furtwängler's description is—'Several maidens in rapid motion . . . It is clear that we have before us two of those tripe sisterhoods of divine maidens which from old time (cf. the Moirai, Horai, and Charites of the François vase) artists were fond of introducing into processions of the gods. The swift, dance-like advance would be specially appropriate for Nymphs, Horai and Charites. We are inclined to suggest as most probable that those on the left are the Charites.' This he confirms by showing that the next figures are almost certainly Aphrodite and Eros; but he withdraws the 'Hours' in favour of some special nymphs who would suit his general explanation better. However this may be, there can now be little doubt that we have in this frieze an echo of the Basis of the Parthenos and that the 'Hours' were on the Basis as well as the Graces, just as we might suppose from Pausanias having been reminded of Hesiod's description of Pandora's birth. As there were only twelve great gods, yet twenty spectators were present, the Seasons and Charites *must* have been there also to take their gifts to the Greek Mother Eve. It is quite probable, however, that on the abbreviated Pergamon Basis favourite groups were picked out and that the Graces did not come next to Pandora on the original work. The Graces would have been specially suitable for this statue of Athene executed for a city library. The war-like attributes seem to have been left out; Athene was here the goddess of Wisdom.

Aphrodite must have been an important figure on the original Basis,

perhaps the group with Eros on the Nike frieze reflects it.³¹ Persuasion must also have been there and Hermes. The closely grouped pair of female figures on the right of the frieze—Demeter and Persephone—were possibly taken from the Basis, there are many existing variants of such a group,³² but see below.

On the Nike temple frieze the Graces were tripping forward with their advanced left arms drooping freely. The second one seems to have held her mantle above her shoulder with her right hand, and the last one had fluttering draperies which were probably gathered in by her right.³³

On the Thasos relief of the Graces, which was about contemporary with the Basis of the Parthenon, the figures do not hold hands and the same is true of a copied relief which bears the name of Kallimachos (Reinach's *Reliefs*, iii. p. 181) which follows the same tradition. (See also Horae in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionary*, Fig. 3877). If we now compare these three and the group on the Pergamon Basis-copy no doubt can remain that Pheidias represented the Charites as present at the Birth of Pandora. This brings up the interpretation of the last metope on the south side of the Parthenon, which has been already mentioned. Here Athene is seated on the Acropolis rock. She is probably conceived as having returned from the Trojan war, the final scenes of which were treated in the other metopes. A messenger-like figure trips up to her who is not Nike or Iris and who resembles very closely one of the figures on the Basis of the Parthenon. It must be either Hebe or a Grace. The last metope of the Herakles series of the Theseum is a variation of the same motive.³⁴ Herakles seems to rest after the adventure of the Hesperides Garden. The figure who runs forward may be one of the daughters of Atlas or Hebe or one of the Graces. A relief in the Louvre shows the three Graces approaching a resting Herakles.³⁵ The Graces and Hours were sculptured on the archaic throne of Apollo at Amyklæ by Bathyklès of Magnesia. Dr. Murray observed of these: 'The function of these figures was the same as that of the Caryatides of the Erechtheum, or those which served as stands for mirrors, or otherwise acted as supports. We may assume for them a general character not unlike those archaic statues on the Acropolis.' Just so, is it not probable indeed that some of these were indeed Graces? At a later time there was a group of the Graces on the Acropolis and one of the earliest works of sculpture which is

³¹ Mr. Cook lately brought forward an Aphrodite as a claimant to a place on the east Pediment, but, if Pheidias, there is no reason why it should not have been on the Basis, where doubtless some of the figures were seated for variety as on the frieze.

³² One of these is Gaudy-Deering's beautiful relief which appears to be lost (*Ionian Antiquities*, vol. v, note on title page vignette). That this relief indeed came from Rhamnus is made sure by similar reliefs, one of which is at Munich. The Hermes on the Oxford Pandora vase who is nearly repeated on the

second B.M. vase may be an echo from the Basis.

³³ This more fluttering drapery seems to have been a good deal like that of a relief of three nymphs led by Hermes now at Berlin (Farnell, vol. i. Pl. XXI).

³⁴ On the basis of the cult statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus was a similar messenger figure. Here it was Leda bringing in Helen. Yet another is on the stage front of the theatre of Dionysos, a work which has many echoes of the Basis.

³⁵ Reinach's *Reliefs*, vol. i. p. 92.

this part is strikingly Pheidian; yet the figures are in high relief and not like those of the great frieze of the Parthenon in this respect. The female figures are draped in the manner described above with a deep turn-over of the chiton forming an arched line and with folds which are dragged aside. Athene, in the centre, carries her shield high and is after the type of the Promachos and the new-born goddess of the Pediment of the Parthenon (cf. Fig. 6). The seated Zeus seems also to have echoed the figure on the pediment. Behind Zeus was a dignified goddess lifting her veil or mantle. This must have been Hera and it may also be a reflection from the pediment. The corresponding figure behind Poseidon should be Amphitrite.⁴¹ 'One figure may be seen resting on his staff engaged in conversation with his graceful neighbour goddess.' (There seems to be a borrowing from this pair on the Nereid Monument.) Such conversations are Pheidian motives. The 'Hours' on the right must have been an exquisite group: one was resting, another was starting up eagerly.

Purtwangler's interpretation of the frieze is not satisfactory. It had been recognised as an assembly of the Gods, but while he accepted and made identifications of Aphrodite, Eros, Persuasion and the Charites on the left,⁴² Poseidon, Athene and Zeus in the centre, and Demeter and Persephone with a group of Nymphs on the right, he yet thought that other figures to the right and left of the central group were heroes and not gods.

The conditions for the interpretation of the frieze are: (1) the temple was that of Athene Nike; (2) close by it, probably in front of the east end and the frieze we are considering, was a site sacred to the Graces with their statues close by; (3) the sculptures on the other three sides of the temple treat of Greek battles; (4) the eastern frieze itself shows Athene armed in the middle between Zeus and Poseidon, and considering the dedication of the temple this figure must be of Victorious Athene; (5) the central composition closely resembles that of the birth of Athene in the east Pediment of the Parthenon. Without arguing up to it I will say that the best solution appears to me to be that the sculpture represented Athene's victorious return from battle for the Greeks, and the Graces and Hours hastening to minister to her. I imagine such a scene as that at the end of the *Fifth Aiad*: 'Then lured the twain back to the mansion of great Zeus, even Hera and Athene, having stayed Ares.' At her going Athene had put on helm and aegis and had issued by the gates of Heaven of which the Hours are waiters to whom is committed Olympus' (see note 42).

'The Gods,' says Collignon, 'seem to await the issue of the battles. The real subject is the glorification of Athenian victories.' With the exception that I would amend 'await' to 'discuss' I agree entirely; but victories must be won. This remarkable frieze, I suggest, closely followed the reliefs on the

⁴¹ Zeus and Hera, Poseidon and Amphitrite, were opposite pairs on the Hera at Olympia.

⁴² He takes no notice of a fourth female in front of the 'Graces,' but separated from them by being seated. I would read this left-hand

section as Dione, Eros, Aphrodite, the Charites and Persuasion. (There is a good later examination of the frieze in Petersen's *Athena* (1908), p. 84.)

Basis of the Parthenon. On each there was a group of three figures at the centre, on either side were conversations of Gods. Beyond these were triads and then the end groups. On the Basis these end groups were probably Helios and Selene; on the frieze there were two sets of three figures. Even the number of figures was very nearly alike on the two works, 21 on the Basis and about 25 on the Frieze. The Basis of the Parthenon was probably very similar to the Basis of the Zeus with one figure (Hestia) omitted and five added for the full complement of Graces and Hours.

HELIOS
HERA
ZEUS
Grace
Grace
Grace
Heraclides
Artemis
Apollo
P. ATHENE
PANDORA
HEPHAISTOS
Perseus
Aphro. & Eros
Hermes
Horn
Horn
Horn
Horn
POSEIDON
AMPHITRITE
SELENE

I suggest this scheme for the Basis of the Parthenon; an alternative would be to leave out the Horn and substitute Dionysos, Demeter and Persephone.

W. R. LETHBRIDGE.

NOTE

At the last moment I find that Petersen (*Athen*, 1908) has also brought out the resting pose of the Parthenos; the pillar under her hand was necessary not only technically but to communicate to the spectator the sense of rest. He also noted the archaic type and the prominence given to the helmet: he read the Basis-copy as Aphrodite bringing a fillet to Pandora. On the basis see also *Revue Archéologique*, 1904 (iv.), p. 108, where it is argued that Pandora should be a half figure, although it is admitted that the statuette shows a central standing figure: this view is based on a claim that on the Genoa vase the subject is rather the birth of Pandora than of Aphrodite: the B.M. cylix is the 'Adorning of Pandora' not the Birth. It may be recalled that Mrs. Strong noted that Pliny spoke in a doubtful way of 'what is called the genesis'; this would be explained if as I have suggested the subject on the basis was really the adorning.

SUN MYTHS AND RESURRECTION MYTHS

THERE is a type of resurrection myth, originating in Thracæ and in North Greece, the connexion of which with the sun and moon worship is at present unduly set aside in favour of the Demeter-Persephone derivation. This type is seen in the stories so popular in the art and drama of fifth century Athens, of the wife or husband who prevails against death, for a time at least, by recovering the beloved one. The most famous examples form a triad which is frequently mentioned, the tales of Laodamia, Alcestis, and Orpheus.

The beautiful slab representing Orpheus and Eurydice at the fatal moment when

restitit, Eurydicæque suam iam luce sub ipsa
immemor heu victusque animi respexit

was made no doubt under the influence of the great Parthenon sculpture and very possibly about the time of the production of the *Alcestis* of Euripides in 438.¹ Indeed in the *Alcestis* (348 ff.) there is one passage in which the three myths are linked. There is a reference to the plot of the *Protonoiçes* of Euripides in the use of the image-motive, immediately followed by a reference to the journey of Orpheus. I quote the translation by Gilbert Murray:—

‘O, I shall find some artist wondrous wise
Shall mould for me thy shape, thine hair, thine eyes,
And lay it in thy bed; and I will lie
Close, and reach out mine arms to thee and cry
Thy name into the night and wait and hear
My own heart breathe; “Thy love, thy love is near.”
A cold delight; yet it might ease the sum
Of sorrow . . . And good dreams of thee will come

¹ Gruppe in Roscher, 3, pt. 2, Sp. 1173, calls the slab the oldest example of the use of the Thracian costume for Orpheus, which began, as he thinks, in the second half of the fifth century. He puts the date of the original about the time of the Archidamian war. This change to the Thracian dress would very well suit the time in which, as Dr. Leaf suggests in his article on the *Rhesus*, the interest in

Thracian things had been quickened in Athens by the founding of Amphipolis. Kokule von Stradonitz in *Bildwerke im Berliner Museum*, V, Jahrhundert, puts the original of the Medea slab “in der Epoche des Parthenonfrühs” and on the following page (172) says that “das Orpheusrelief im ersten Vorbild der gleichen Epoche angehört.”

Like hail. 'Tis sweet, even in a dream, to gaze
 On a dear face, the moment that it stays.
 O God, if Orpheus' voice were mine to sing
 To death's high Virgin and the Virgin's king
 Till their hearts failed them, down would I my path
 Cleave and naught stay me, not the horn of wrath
 Nor the grey carsman of the ghostly tide,
 Till back to sunlight I had borne my bride.

Of the Alcestis myth Mr. Thomson in his delightful chapter on Alcestis and her Hero writes:—

'Her worshippers might call her here Kore, and Semele there and Alcestis somewhere else. At heart under all these names and in spite of local variations in her ritual, the *Rediviva* is everywhere and always one and the same, being in fact the Earth, who appears to die in winter and to come to life again in the spring' (*The Greek Tradition*, p. 115).

Wilamowitz too, in his militant manner, says in a footnote in his *Egillos und Epitalamios* (p. 75, n. 50) that 'the fact that anyone could have the daring, after K. O. Mueller's demonstration that Admetus is Hades, to refer the myth to the Sun and his rising and setting shows the depth to which the study of mythology has sunk.'

This imperious dictum was written in 1885 and Miss Harrison's paper on Helios-Hades has since its writing shown that 'Helios is the bright side of Hades.' It has also become clear that Hecate-Selene is the bright side of Hecate-Persephone. The statement made by Wilamowitz on the authority of K. O. Mueller, and followed universally so far as I have observed by other scholars, that Admetus is Hades I believe to be erroneous. It rests on a line of the *Iliad* (9, 158) and on the doubtful phrase (33 f.) in the second idyll of Theocritus in which the interpretation of *rov év τῷ ἀδάμαρτῳ* by R. J. Cholmeley as meaning 'the gate of hell' is probably right. The word in the *Iliad* is ἀδάμαρτος, used in Homer only here in this form. In the form ἀδάμαρος it is used by the dramatist of unwedded girls and of untamed beasts; ἀδάμαρτος itself is used by Xenophon of an unbroken horse. Except for the proper name Admetus, this form (ἀδάμαρτος) is found only in the feminine in Homer and of unbroken animals, while the form ἀδάμα is used of unwedded girls, in which sense ἀδάμα is found in Aeschylus and Sophocles. I can find no support for the statement that 'Adάμαρτος, the unconquered, is a common title of Pluto' (Hayley, following Mueller, *Alcestis*, p. xi).

On the other hand the epithet ἀδάμαρτος is appropriate to Helios, who afterward in these very Balkan regions in which his early cult was so strong was known as *daletyros* and Sol Invictus. Further we find an Admetus among the descendants of Helios. This phenomenon frequently means that an epithet has been detached from the Sun himself and given to a child of his, as for example Phaethon and Phoibos. In Polygnotus' picture at Delphi

* Thomson, J. A. K.: *The Greek Tradition*, p. 119.

there appeared an Admetus,² son of Augeias, whose name is also one that refers to the light of the sun. Augeias is the son of Helios, to whom his father gave this gift pre-eminent, to abound in flocks above all men, and Helios himself did ever and always give increase to the cattle, for upon his herds came no disease, of them that always minish the herdman's toil. But always more in number waxed the horned kine, and goodlier year by year, for verily they all brought forth abundantly and never cast their young and bare chiefly heifers' (Theocritus 25, 117 ff., Lang's translation). Another Sun-god, Apollo, in the home of Admetus of Phœne rich in flocks, caused all the cows to bear twins. In the genealogy of the Thessalian heroes one comes constantly on the track of the Sun-god. There is the notable sinner, Phlegyas, the Flaming; his son Ixion, the Sunwheel (Cook, *Zeus*, p. 197 ff.), who is sometimes son of Aithon, the Gleaming; Peirithoos, the Revolving, and Asklepios, whose epithets *Αἰγλάης* and *Ἀγλαόπης* mean *Shining*, and in whose very name, as Wilamowitz says, 'steckt Glanz'.³ The Hesychius definition adduced by Wilamowitz, following K. O. Mueller (*Isyllos*, 75), and by Farnell (*Cults*, ii. 475) to show that Admetus is a god of the lower world has, I believe, been misinterpreted. In it Hecate is defined as *Ἀδμήτου κόρη*. Elsewhere, with the exception of the fragment of Bacchylides in which she is called the 'child of blackrobed Night,' she is the child of heavenly parents and is called Perseis.⁴ I think it probable that in this late gloss Hecate has been understood as Selene and is called daughter of Admetus, as in the *Phœnissæ* (175) Selene is addressed as daughter of Helios. Cf. Schol. Arat. 445, *παρὰ τοῖς τραγικοῖς Ἡλίου θυγάτηρ*.

Since the Hesychius passage is the one on which the identification of Admetus and Pluto chiefly rests, and since Admetus elsewhere is a child of light with evident traits of the Sun-god in his holiness and his rich flocks, I can see no reason for connecting the hero with the deity of the lower world, and feel that Mr. Thomson is right when he says 'It was to Admetus in his shining aspect—as it were the Sun-god himself—that Alcestis was married on the day of the strange procession.' It is wrong, however, as I think, to identify Admetus with Pluto as Mr. Thomson does on page 118. Admetus does not even, like Heracles and so many others of the family of the Shining Ones, descend into Hades' realm to reappear again, or to remain forever for some sin.

I do not wish to advocate the theory of the German scholar who comes under the ban of Wilamowitz in the passage cited from his *Isyllos* for maintaining that in the marriage of Alcestis and Admetus there is a picture of the marriage of the Rose of Dawn or the Rose of Twilight to the Rising or the Setting Sun. Dawn does marry in Greek mythology, but it is the primitive feeling about the love and marriage of the Sun and his sister the Moon that has expressed itself in countless myths about unhappy lovers of the hero type from ancient times down to the present. To the union of the

² PAUL, x. 25, 5.

³ *Isyllos* con *Epidaurios*, 92 ff.

⁴ Warr in *C.R.* ix. 390-393.

heavenly bride and bridegroom Frazer ascribes the establishing of the Olympian games; and Cornford adds much interesting material in the sixth chapter of Miss Harrison's *Themis*. The pair are said by Hesiod to be brother and sister, children of Themis and Hyperion. Here the epithets have become the parents as so often epithets have become the offspring of the Sun and Moon. In a Roumanian folk-song there is preserved a myth of the love and longing of the Sun for his sister and their punishment and parting.

'Helen of the long gold hair
And thou Sun so shining fair,
Thou who from all sin art pure,
Sun and Moon ye are condemned
While my heavens shall endure,
Till eternity shall end,
To seek each other through the skies,
Following with yearning eyes,
Never having power to meet
On the high celestial street,
Only following endlessly,
Lifted over land and sea,
Wandering heaven day and night,
Filling all the world with light.'^a

It is the Christian Lord God who in this song condemns the Sun and Moon to pine forever, but the rest of the myth consists of the primitive Balkan belief in the Sun and Moon, modified by the Hellenic story of Helen, the fair.

Another song from Roumania which preserves the marriage myth is this^b—

'You see I know all the white-moon's dark secrets,
It is she herself that kills the sun
And on the sky her knife is bloody,
But the sun rises from his tomb,
And every night she has to kill again

But the sun rises every morning from his red tomb,
Now to-day I have heard a strange thing, my fair husband,
The moon still loves the sun
And they are wedded;
They have a marriage ring,
It is made of the gold of the sun and the silver of the moon
Exactly like our own.'

'The Moon herself,' Plutarch says, 'revolves in love of the Sun and desiring ever to wed with him.' We are told (Proclus on Hesiod, *Works*,

^a Jewett's *Folk-Ballads of Southern Europe*, 23 ff.

^b *Ibid.*, p. 271 f.

5, 280) that the Athenians chose the time of the new moon for the celebration of marriage and the 'theogamia,' holding that this was the time when the Moon was going to her marriage with the Sun. We have the authority of Pindar for the interest of the Sun in the prayers of men who are in love while the Moon listens to the lovesick woman (Schol. on Theocritus, *id.* 2, 21). These stories of the heroes and heroines in which the theme is nuptial love and parting reflect an old and widely spread conception of the union (*σύνωδος*) of Sun and Moon at the *νομήνια*. (Cf. the interesting passage, Eur. *Suppl.* 990 ff. where the *σύνωδος* of Sun and Moon makes a good omen for the marriage of Capanews and Evadne.) They are influenced also in their Greek form by the drama of the other year deities, and Eurydice and Alcestris have points of contact with Persephone, just as the Balkan goddess of the Moon, Artemis the Queen, Hecate and Brimo are sometimes one with the dread goddess of Hades. In the *Phœnix* (108) Euripides, who understands such things well, calls Hecate the royal child of Leto; in the *Ion* (1048) Enodia is addressed as 'Daughter of Demeter, who dost rule the haunting things which come by night.' Again in the *Helen* (579) Hecate has the epithet *φωσφόρος* and is entreated to send blessed visions. In the next line she is Enodia. In *I.T.* (21) Artemis is *φωσφόρος θεός*. The Thessalian goddess Phœnia, worshipped at Phœnie, the home of Admetus, is Hecate-Enodia-Brimo-Artemis, the great Moon-goddess of the Balkans, who has her dwelling in the lower world as well. The names of the three heroines, which are usually interpreted as epithets of Persephone, can as well refer to the Moon-goddess, Alcestris, the Mighty, Laodamia, Her who quells the Folk, and Eurydice, Her of the Wide Sway. It was Hecate-Brimo of Phœnie, who according to the Hellenised form of the tale is Artemis, whose wrath at not receiving sacrifice brought the doom of death upon Admetus. The children and grandchildren of the Sun are often sinful, as for example Ixion, Peirithous, Medea, and Circe. So Admetus, the heroised namesake of the Sun, is guilty of remissness toward the Moon-goddess.

In Orpheus as in Paean we have a spirit of healing. Paean deals with *φάρμακα* and Orpheus with the *ἐπὶ ὄν* (*Cyclops*, 646). Paean becomes identified with Apollo, who assumes the character of medicine-god, and Orpheus, whose healing is more psychological the enchanter and singer, gives his life for the sake of the Sun-god (according to Aeschylus in the *Bassarids*). In the picture of Polygnotus² Orpheus is without his bride in Hades. In the famous slab we see him at the moment in which he offends against the law of magic, which demands that one should not look upon the magic art. So Medea, in a fragment (491) of Sophocles' *Root-diggers*, cuts her magic herbs with head turned away. In the version of the *ἀναγνώρις* of the bride which is regarded as the first, Orpheus brings up, perhaps successfully, Argope or Agriope.³ These are plainly moon-epithets, either of the shining or the baleful face of the moon. A. B. Cook (in his *Zeus*, p. 537) discusses Europe, daughter of Argope, as a moon-goddess. The name

² Paus. x. 39, 6.

³ Hermesianax ap. Athenæum, *cit.* 397 f.

Argiope is formed like Antiope, who, as Mr. Cook shows (p. 738), was as early as the eighth century B.C. the wife of Helios and probably a moon-goddess. Antiope, according to Mr. Cook, following Gruppe, 'is a highly suitable appellation for the full moon, which at its rising exactly faces the sun.' If then the first wife of Orpheus was a moon-hypostasis, we may assume the same of Eurydice and regard the parting as originally that of the loving Sun and Moon rather than that of Spring leaving the Earth. I should like to suggest here a derivation which I have not seen advocated for another Thessalian heroine, the mother of Asklepios, Aigla or Koronis, who was daughter of Phlegyas and beloved of Apollo. Aigla is obviously a moon-epithet; Koronis can well refer to the sickle-shape of the new moon. We are told by Isyllus that she was given the name Koronis for her beauty. Wilamowitz, who connects the name with the crow or raven, says that it is indeed peculiar that she should be called *Koronis* for her beauty's sake. 'Aber die Griechen schienen doch Koronis als ein auszeichnendes Beiwort, als einen Namen, bei dem man an Schönheit dachte, empfunden zu haben.' Since Koronis was the beloved of Apollo, who fell in love with her as she dipped her feet in the lake of Phoebus or Phoebe, it seems reasonable to see in her a heroine whose names both come from the moon. The meaning of the words τὰ κάλλος δὲ Κορονίς ἐπεκλήθη, which are so puzzling to Wilamowitz, may be clear if we think of the beauty of the new moon. The comparison of Dido, retreating from contact with Aeneas in the lower world, to the new moon seen dimly through the clouds is unspeakably lovely:—

obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense
aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam.

In the story of Laodamia we see the longing of the Moon for the Sun typified more clearly than in the other two myths. Protesilaos appears to have been worshipped as a fructifying daemon in his home in Phylace (Pindar, i. 1, 21) and in Elaëus (Philostratus, *Her.* 2, 8; *Hdt.* 9, 116; *Thuc.* 8, 102). In the fifth century version, preserved in several sources, Laodamia asked the gods below that her husband might return to her. She obtained the boon of three hours of companionship with him in the upper world. At the expiration of this time, when her husband had left her, she had a bronze or wax or wooden image of him made, which she placed in her chamber under the pretext of offering sacrifice, and began to worship it. She was found by her returning husband, according to Eustathius, embracing the statue. In another account a servant, seeing her embrace the statue, believed that she had admitted a lover to her room and reported the thing to her father, who burned the statue. Laodamia in grief, according to this version, threw herself on the fire and was burned to death. The use made in the plot of Euripides' *Protesilaos* of the image-motive is not certain and has been discussed most fully by M. Mayer in his paper entitled 'Der Protesilaos des Euripides.'⁷⁹ I make the suggestion that the statue was used by

⁷⁹ See Mayer, M., 'Der Protesilaos des Euripides,' *Herms*, xi., 101 ff.

Laodamia in the play of Euripides in a ritual (*γοητείας*) like that ascribed to the *Ghost-raisers* of Aeschylus. Compare Phryn. Bekk. 73, 13: τοὺς τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν τεθνεώτων γοητείας τισὶ (ἀν)άγοντας τῆς αὐτῆς ἐννοίας καὶ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου τὸ δράμα ψυχαγωγοί. The statue, if of wax, as suggested in some sources, would be such a 'koros' as is mentioned in fragment 493 of Sophocles: κόρον ἀιτῶσας πυρί. Its use would be that of sympathetic magic, like that employed by Simaetha in the second idyll of Theocritus for the purpose of making Delphis melt with love for her. It would be very appropriate for a Thessalian heroine, who owes her name to the moon-goddess, to use magic in order to make Protesilaos feel her longing for him even in the underworld. In a passage near the close of the *Alcestis*, in which Admetus expresses the fear that Alcestis may be a phantom from the world of shades, Heracles says 'No ψυχαγωγός (ghost-raiser) hast thou made thy friend' (Murray). As the play of Aeschylus had this name, and as Euripides was a close student and sometimes a critic of Aeschylus, he may be referring to the plot of that play, which he may have copied in some details of his *Protesilaos*. The *Alcestis* in that case marks an advance in his treatment of the resurrection theme.

We know the exact date of the production of the *Alcestis* to have been 438 B.C., and I have noted that the style of the sculptured slab depicting Orpheus turning toward Eurydice on the upward way is in the manner of that period. Resurrection myths of the Balkan-Thessalian type were a frequent theme in Athens at that time. Dr. Leaf¹¹ has shown that the *Rhesus* was in all probability composed with reference to the settlement of Amphipolis by an Athenian colony in 437. In this too we have a resurrection myth which embodied a deep-seated religious belief of the Danubian regions and one that is connected with sun-worship. Like many Thracian heroes Rhesus has a dash of the Sun-god in him, the burning targe, the white horses and the splendour. Like them he is a boaster and a deep drinker, a child of battle and of song. Like other divine kings he dies in his youth and strength, and keeps watch over his people from "some feasting presence full of light," where he lies among the buried silver-veins of Pangaeon. (Introduction to *Rhesus*, Murray, p. xii.)

The Muse says of her son's fate:—

My son shall not be laid in any grave
Of darkness; thus much guerdon will I crave
Of Death's eternal bride, the heavenly-born
Maid of Demeter, Life of fruits and corn,
To set this one soul free. She owes me yet
For Orpheus widowed an abiding debt.
To me he still must be—that know I well—
As one in death, who sees not. Where I dwell
He must not come, nor see his mother's face.
Alone forever, in a caverned place

¹¹ *J.H.S.* 1915, p. 1 ff.

Of silver-veined earth hid from men's sight
 A Man yet Spirit, he shall live in light;
 As under far Pangaion Orpheus lies,
 Priest of great light and worshipped of the wise.

(Gilbert Murray's Translation.)

The immortalising 'Getae, who live between the Balkans and the Danube (Bulgaria), had a belief in a similar life after death, in which they personally would spend an eternity of revelling with their *δαίμων* Salmoxis, who is a form of the Sun-god priest. Herodotus (iv. 94) says that these are the Getae who on occasion of thunder and lightning shoot arrows into heaven, threatening the god, believing only in the existence of their own god.' I think that the meaning of this passage has been misunderstood by Erwin Rohde¹² (*Psyche*, 2, 28) in that he regards Salmoxis as the Getan god and thinks the god against whom they direct their arrows is one in whom they do not believe. Their procedure is rather sun-magic, like that practised by the Paenonians in worship of or magic dealing with the same god. Salmoxis is a rude Danubian daemon and sun-priest, who never assumed a beautiful Greek form as did Orpheus, though he got so far as to be transformed into a follower of Pythagoras according to the theory of some Greeks from the Black Sea, to whose statement Herodotus attaches no great importance. The *penteteris*, given by Herodotus as the time intervening for the messengers to Salmoxis who are tossed against the spears, points to the sun and moon *penteteris*. (See page 231 of Miss Harrison's *Themis*; Cornford's discussion of the time reckonings.)

The resurrection myths of Alcestis, Eurydice, and Protesilaos were humanised and stamped with the beauty of the Periclean period by the genius of an unknown worker in marble in the depiction of the Orpheus myth, and by Euripides in his *Alcestis* and his *Protesilaos*. They had their roots in their myths about the sun and moon which found their way from the Danube and Thessaly in the sixth (see Farnell, *Culte*, ii. 508, for Hecate) and fifth centuries. They were 'myths' to the Greeks, but came from deep-rooted folk superstitions and beliefs in the Balkans and Thessaly, where the magico-religious cult of the moon-goddess was so strongly seated and where sun-worship produced a cult of medicine destined to be fruitful for good in the worship of Paean of Paenonia and Asklepios of Tricca in Thessaly.

The tales of Salmoxis in his cave, Orpheus on Pangaion, worshipping the Sun, Brimo-Hecate at Pherae, Koronis and Apollo at the Shining Lake, Artemis and Apollo in Greek art and literature, are the product of, or have been profoundly affected by, the worship of Sun and Moon in the Danubian lands from which their cult has never wholly perished.¹³ Poetry and custom and religion in those places still celebrate their *ὑπὸ βίαιαν αἰῶνα*.

GRACE HARRIET MACURDY.

¹² Dr. Farnell (*Culte*, v. 94) appears to follow Rohde.

¹³ See *Sacra* by the Servians, Chapter XL.

Manners and Customs, by S. Troyanovitch, Director of the Ethnological Museum in Belgrade.

A SURVEY OF GREEK FEDERAL COINAGE.

THE object of the present article is to bring the evidence of coins to bear upon a type of Greek state which has received comparatively slight attention at the hands of historians, the federal union of cities or tribes.¹

A preliminary survey of Greek federal money was made some fifty years ago by the Hon. J. B. L. Warren.² More recently important additions to our knowledge of the coin-systems of individual leagues have been made by several expert writers on numismatics.³ But certain aspects of federal coinage have hardly yet been considered.

In particular, no systematic attempt has yet been made to use their evidence to illustrate one crucial problem of federal politics, the relation of the federal government to the confederate states. In the following pages an endeavour will be made to throw light upon this problem by means of a survey of the various federal coinage systems.

The scope of this survey will be confined to the federations of the pre-Roman era, whose object was mainly or solely political. The more or less formal leagues of the Roman period will be left out of account. On the other hand the term 'federation' will be taken in the wider sense, so as to include all unions of Greek states which possessed separate organs of government over and above the governments of the federating cities or tribes.⁴

(1) *Acarnania*.⁵

Federal Coins. B and A. 400-167 B.C.

Predominant Type.—Head of Achelous.

Inscriptions.— Φ ακαρνάνων, AK, AKAPNANON. Name, presumably of federal strategus, on some of the earlier coins.

¹ In addition to Freeman's well-known work on *Federal Government*, we now have a more comprehensive and up-to-date account by Swoboda (in Hermann's *Lehrbuch der griechischen Antiquitäten* I², pt. 2, pp. 298-442). Swoboda does not ignore the numismatic evidence, as Freeman did, but the scope of his work has not allowed him to discuss it in detail.

² *Essay on Greek Federal Coinage* (London, 1863).

³ See especially the articles by Weil on the coins of Arcadia (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*,

ix, p. 10 *seq.*, xxi, p. 129 *seq.*), and by Baboche (*Revue Numismatique*, 1913, pp. 457-482), and P. Gardner (*J.H.S.*, 1913, pp. 147-188) on the money of the Delian Confederacy.

⁴ This definition is more comprehensive than that of Swoboda, who lays down the rule that a 'federation' in the strict sense of the word only includes those unions which created a federal franchise in addition to the municipal or tribal franchises (*op. cit.* pp. 298-9).

⁵ *Hand. Historia Numorum* (2nd ed.), pp. 228-234.

Local Coins.

(a) 400-250 B.C.—Silver coins, with Corinthian type and local inscription, are issued at Alyzia, Anactorium, Argos, Astacus, Leucas, Metropolis, Stratus, and Thyreum.

(b) 250-167 B.C.—No municipal coins are issued, except some bronze pieces of Anactorium, Leucas, and Oeniadae (219-11 B.C.).

(2) **Achaea.**¹⁰*Federal Coins.*

(a) 370-360 B.C. \mathcal{R} and \mathcal{E} .

Predominant Type.—Head of Artemis or Zeus.

Inscription.— \mathcal{A} or $\mathcal{A}\chi\alpha\iota\omega\mathcal{N}$.

(b) 280-146 B.C. \mathcal{R} and \mathcal{E} .

Predominant Type.—Head of Zeus Amarius.

Inscription.—On \mathcal{R} coins: \mathcal{A} ; name of city and of local¹¹ magistrate.

On \mathcal{E} coins: name of League and of city combined ($\mathcal{A}\chi\alpha\iota\omega\mathcal{N}$ $\mathcal{A}\iota\gamma\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha\tau\omega\mathcal{N}$, etc.).

Local Coins.

(a) Before 370 B.C.—Aegae issues \mathcal{R} , and Helice \mathcal{E} , with municipal types and inscriptions.

(b) 370-322 B.C.—Dyme and Pellene strike \mathcal{R} ; Aigeira, Bura, and Pellene \mathcal{E} . Local types and inscriptions.

(c) 280-146 B.C.—Coins with local types and inscriptions are issued as follows:—

\mathcal{R} at Argos, Megalopolis, Patrae, Sicyon, and Sparta.

\mathcal{E} at Argos, Dyme, Elis, Messene, Patrae, and Sicyon.¹²

(3) **Aenianes.**¹³

Federal Coins. \mathcal{R} (400-344 B.C.¹⁴) and \mathcal{R} and \mathcal{E} (168-146 B.C.).

Inscription.— $\mathcal{A}\iota\nu\iota\alpha\nu\omega\mathcal{N}$.

Local Coins.—None.

(4) **Aeolis.**¹⁵

Federal Coins. \mathcal{E} . 330-280 / B.C.

Predominant Type.—Fulmen.

Inscription.— $\mathcal{A}\iota\omicron\mathcal{A}\mathcal{E}$.

¹⁰ Head, pp. 412-418. Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, pp. 73-4. M. G. Clark, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Achaean League* (with copious illustrations).

¹¹ The local character of these magistrates has been demonstrated by Warren, pp. 45-8.

¹² B. M. *Catalogue, Peloponnesus*, p. xxvii.

¹³ Head, pp. 291-2.

¹⁴ In the B. M. *Catalogue for Thessaly*, p. 10, the date assigned is 302-289 B.C. But the analogy of the adjacent Oetaeans suggests 400-344 B.C.

¹⁵ Head, pp. 553-563.

Local Coins.—Concurrent issues, with local types and inscriptions, at Aegirus (Æ), Antissa (Æ), Eresus (Æ), Methymna (Æ and Æ), Mitylene (Æ and Æ).

(5) **Aetolia.**¹²

Federal Coins. Æ, Æ, and Æ. 279-168 B.C.

Predominant Type.—Seated figure of Aetolia.

Inscription.—ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ.

Local Coins.—A concurrent bronze issue, with Aetolian types but local inscriptions, is found at Amphissa, Apollonia, Oeantheia, Oeta, and Thronium.¹³ These places, however, should be regarded as tributaries rather than as regular members of the League.¹⁴

(6) **The Amphictyonic League of Delphi.**¹⁵

Federal Coins. Æ and Æ. Circa 346-339 B.C.

Predominant Types.—Head of Demeter; Apollo.

Inscription.—ΑΜΦΙΚΤΙΟΝΩΝ.

Local Coins.—The constituent states of the League strike independently and without restriction.

(6 bis) **The Anti-Spartan League.**^{15 bis}

No *federal coinage*, strictly speaking. A standardised series of silver tridrachms of the Rhodian standard was issued from 394 to 389 B.C. (or perhaps to 387 B.C.) by Ephesus, Samos, Cnidus, Iasos, Rhodes and Byzantium; they have their own reverse types, but a common obverse type of the infant Heracles strangling the serpents, with the inscription ΣΥΝ(MΑΧΙΚΟΝ).

(7) **Arcadia.**¹⁶

Federal Coins.

(a) 520-420 B.C.¹⁷ Æ.

Predominant Type.—Seated figure of Zeus Lycaeus.

Inscription.—ΑΡΚΑΔΑ, ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ, etc.

¹² Head, pp. 394-5. Hill, pp. 115-7.

¹³ *R. M. Catalogue, Thessaly*, p. lvii. *Revue Numismatique*, ii, pp. 30, 32.

¹⁴ For other instances of such overdoing, see Swoboda, pp. 348-350.

¹⁵ Head, pp. 341-2. Hill, pp. 89, 91-2.

^{15 bis} Head, n. 573; Hill, pp. 62 ff. Strictly speaking, it is doubtful whether the 'anti-Spartan' combination of 394-387 B.C. should be included in the present review. As our sole knowledge of its existence is derived from coins, we have but little evidence of its political structure. In particular, we cannot make sure that the combination was a federation in the proper sense of the term, i.e.

whether it possessed any common organs of government over and above the governments of the individual states. However, the 'anti-Spartan' coin types illustrate, if not a federation ready-made, at any rate a federation in the making. On this ground they can fairly be included in our survey.

¹⁶ Head, pp. 444-456. Hill, pp. 72-3.

¹⁷ The beginning of this series, which is commonly placed at 490 B.C., has been thrown back by Weil (*Zeitsch. f. Num.* xxix, p. 141) to 520 B.C. The large number of extant specimens and the diversity of their style indicate that the series was a long one.

- (b) 370-362 B.C., or later.¹⁷ Δ R and Δ E.

Predominant Type.—Head of Zeus Lycaeus; seated figure of Pan.

Inscription.—APK.¹⁸

- (c) 251-244 B.C. Δ E.

Similar types and inscription.

Local Coins.

(a) 520-420 B.C.—Municipal silver issues, dating back to 450 B.C. or earlier, are found at Cleitor, Mantinea, and Psophis. Alea, the Parrhasii, Pheneus, and Tegea begin to coin before the end of the fifth century.¹⁹ Their first issues perhaps overlap with the last of the 520-420 B.C. series of federal coins.

(b) *Circa 362 B.C.*—Coins with municipal types and inscriptions are struck at Cleitor (Δ R and Δ E), Heraclea (Δ R and Δ E), Mantinea (Δ R and Δ E), Methydrium (Δ E), Orchomenus (Δ E), Pheneus (Δ R and Δ E), Symphalius (Δ R and Δ E), and Tegea (Δ R and Δ E).

(c) 251-244 B.C.—No local issues can be dated with certainty to this period.

(8) **The First Athenian Confederacy (Delian League)**²⁰

Federal Coins.—None.

Local Coins.—Independent local issues show a tendency to decline from the inception of the League.²¹ In the second half of the century they become increasingly rare. About 415 B.C. the only important surviving mints, beside that of Athens, are those of Chios, Cyzicus, the Rhodian towns, and Samos.²² Elsewhere the local issues are replaced by the coins of Athens.

¹⁷ Weil (*Zeitschr. f. Num.* 14, p. 38) dates the series down to 300 B.C.

¹⁸ The inscriptions Δ P Δ and Δ E, which occur on some of these pieces, have been ingeniously explained by Heud as referring to Pasistratea and Theoxenus, two founders of Megalopolis. In this case we have an intrusion of a municipal legend on a federal coin.

¹⁹ According to Heud, this series commenced about 450-420 B.C. The *R. M. Catalogue for Polyommene* takes 431 B.C. as the starting point.

²⁰ Heraclea, whose earliest coins date back to 550 B.C., issued no money during the greater part of the fifth century B.C. Weil (*Zeitschr. f. Num.* xix, p. 144), conjectures that this was due to a *hoera* (a loan otherwise recorded, *Index Illustre* (*Münster program*), p. 106) suggests more plausibly that in the fifth

century Heraclea was the seat of the federal mint, and used the federal coins for its local purposes.

²¹ See especially P. Gauthier, *J.H.N.* 1913, pp. 147-188, and Babelon, *Revue Numismatique*, 1913, pp. 457-485.

²² The time at which the Athenians conceived the deliberate policy of closing the mints of their allies is a matter of dispute. Babelon (p. 467 *supra*) would date this policy back to the beginning of the League. Weil (*Zeitschr. f. Num.* xxviii, pp. 835-6) argues with some force that restrictive measures were not taken before 424 B.C., from which time the tribute of the allies came to be spent more and more in Athens.

²³ P. Gardner, *loc. cit.*, and Heud, pp. 524-5, 636-7.

(9) **The Second Athenian Confederacy** (377-338 B.C.).*Federal Coins.*—None.*Local Coins.*—Not only Athens, but numerous other members of the League, strike local pieces without any restriction.(10) **Boeotia.**²⁴*Federal Coins.*(a) 480-456 B.C. *R.*Type.—Boeotian shield.²⁵Inscription.— $\tau\alpha(\nu\rho\rho\alpha)$. $\beta\omicron\iota(\omega\rho\omega\nu)$.(b) 379-338 B.C. *R.*

Type.—Boeotian shield.

Inscription.—Name of federal magistrate.²⁶(c) 338-315 B.C. *R.*

Type.—Boeotian shield.

Inscription.— $\beta\omicron\iota\Omega\tau\Omega\Nu$.(d) 288-146 B.C. *R.* and *E.*

Type.—Head of Poseidon; or Poseidon standing.

Inscription.— $\beta\omicron\iota\Omega\tau\Omega\Nu$.*Local Coins.*(a) To 480 B.C.—Local currency (*R.*) is issued at Thebes and Tanagra from 600 B.C., at Aegae, Coroneia, Haliartus, Mycalessus, Orchomenus, and Pharsis from 550 B.C.

The coins of all these towns are on the same (Aeginetic) standard of weight. Except Orchomenus, they all bear the device of the Boeotian shield. But their inscriptions are purely municipal.

(b) 480-456 B.C.—Local coinage is suspended everywhere except at Thebes, which continues to strike pieces with the Boeotian shield and the legend $\Phi\epsilon\beta\alpha$.(c) 456-446 B.C.²⁷—Aegae, Coroneia, Tanagra, and Thebes coin in the same style as before.(d) 446-386 B.C.—All municipal mints are closed except that of Thebes. The Theban coins (*R.* and *E.*) retain the type of the Boeotian shield, but on their reverse they generally bear a purely Theban device (*e.g.* Heracles strangling the serpents). The inscription is a purely local one.(e) 386-374 B.C.²⁸—The old series is resumed at Coroneia, Haliartus,²⁴ *Hunt*, pp. 243-255. *Hill*, pp. 69-71.²⁵ In the *R. M. Catalogue for Boeotia* (p. xxvi.) it is suggested that the shield presumably had its origin at Thebes. It certainly appears continuously on the coins of that town, even at a time (146-27 B.C.) when other Boeotian towns had adopted different types. But the same device was commonly used by the community of the Boeotian towns, and was not discarded by those in the periods when the influence of Thebes in Boeotia was in

abeyance (480-456 and 386-374 B.C.). The shield should therefore be regarded as a federal rather than a municipal symbol.

²⁶ On the federal character of the magistrates named on these coins, see *Hill*, pp. 70-71.²⁷ In 456-446 and 386-374 B.C. the Boeotian League ceased to exist for political purposes. It is probable that it remained in being as a sacred union.

Mycalæssus, Pharsæ, and Tanagra, and is extended to Chaeroneia, Copæ, Lebadeia, Plataea, and Thespiæ. Orchomenus now begins a fresh series with the device of the Boeotian shield. It is not known whether the Theban mint remained open at this period.

(f) 374-338 B.C.—All municipal mints are closed.

(g) 338-315 B.C.—Coroneia, Haliartus, Lebadeia, Orchomenus, Tanagra, and Thespiæ strike \mathcal{A} on the same pattern as before.

(h) 315-288 B.C.—Thebes alone strikes money (\mathcal{A}).

(i) 288-146 B.C.—All municipal coinages cease.

(k) 146 B.C.-27 A.D.—Municipal pieces (\mathcal{A}) are struck at Lebadeia, Orchomenus, Thebes, and Thespiæ. Thebes alone retains the type of the Boeotian shield.

(11) Chalcidice.²⁰

Federal Coins.

(a) *Circa* 450 B.C. \mathcal{A} .

Type.—Horse cantering (the contemporary type of Olynthus).

Inscription.— $\Psi\text{A}\text{K}$.

(b) *Circa* 400-350 B.C.²¹ \mathcal{A} , \mathcal{R} , \mathcal{E} .

Type.—Apollo; lyre.

Inscription.— $\chi\alpha\alpha\kappa\iota\delta\epsilon\omega\nu$. Some coins bear the name of a presumably federal official. One extant piece is inscribed $\phi\alpha\gamma\nu\omega$.²²

Local Coins.

(a) Before 400 B.C.—Independent silver coins are struck at Mende, Olynthus, Potidæa, Serryle, and Torone.

(b) After 400 B.C.—Independent coins are issued by Acanthus (\mathcal{R}), Apollonia (\mathcal{E}), Mende (\mathcal{R} and \mathcal{E}), Orthagoreia (\mathcal{R} and \mathcal{E}), Potidæa (\mathcal{R} and \mathcal{E}). The currency of the Bottineai imitates the federal type, but has a local inscription.

(12) Cyrene.²³

Federal Coins. *Circa* 247-221 B.C. \mathcal{R} and \mathcal{E} .

Type.—Head of Zeus Ammon; sulphur plant (the ordinary devices of Cyrenaica).

Inscription.— $\kappa\omega\iota\nu\omega\nu$.

Local Coins.—No concurrent local issues are known, whether at Cyrene, Barca, or Euesperides.

²⁰ Head, pp. 203-214. Hill, pp. 93-7.

²¹ The variety in the types of the fourth century pieces suggests that their issue extended over the whole period of the League's existence (Hill, pp. 93-7. Wroth, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1897, p. 100).

²² B. M. Catalogue, Macedonia, p. 87. This solitary piece does not suffice to show

that the Chalcidian League was really a unitary state under the control of Olynthus (see Freeman, *Federal Government*, p. 152 *seq.*). All the rest of the numismatic evidence supports the contention of Sackels (op. cit. p. 315, n. 10), that the League was a genuine federation.

²³ Head, pp. 851-2.

(13) **Epirus.**²²*Federal Coins.*

- (a) Before 238 B.C.
- \mathcal{A}
- .

Predominant Type.—Fulmen.

Inscription.—ΑΡΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ.

- (b) 238–168 B.C.
- \mathcal{A}
- and
- \mathcal{E}
- .

Predominant Type.—Heads of Zeus and Dion.

Inscription.—ΑΡΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ.

Local Coins.(a) Before 238 B.C.—Pieces with local types and inscriptions are issued by Ambracia (\mathcal{A}), Cassope (\mathcal{E}), Elea (\mathcal{E}), and the Molossi (\mathcal{A} and \mathcal{E}).(b) 238–168 B.C.—Coins with local types and inscriptions are struck by Ambracia (\mathcal{A} and \mathcal{E}), the Athamans (\mathcal{E}), Cassope (\mathcal{A} and \mathcal{E}), Pandosia (\mathcal{E}), and Phoenix (\mathcal{E}).(14) **Euboea.**²³*Federal Coins.*

- (a) 411–338 B.C.
- \mathcal{A}
- .

Type.—Head of nymph; bull; bunch of grapes (same as on Eretrian coins).

Inscription.—ΕΥΒ or ΕΥΒΟΙ.

- (b) 197–146 B.C.
- \mathcal{E}
- .

Same type.

Inscription.—ΕΥΒΟΙΕΩΝ.

Local Coins.—During both the above periods coins are issued by Carystus, Chalcis, Eretria, and Histiaea. All of these bear a local inscription. The types of Chalcis are wholly different from the federal ones. Those of Carystus and Histiaea show an occasional resemblance to the federal types. The device of the Eretrian coins is identical with those of the League.(15) **Ionia.**²⁴*No federal coinage.**Municipal issues* of various types and weights are copious. About 500 B.C. a standardised series is issued by Chios, Samos, Abydos, Clazomenae, Lampascus, Cyme, Dardanus, Priene, and perhaps some other towns. These pieces are all struck on the Milesian standard and have an identical reverse type (incuse square), but their obverse types are those of the individual cities. They bear no inscription.

After the Ionian Revolt the city coinages again become completely independent.

²² Head, pp. 319–323.²³ Head, pp. 323–325.²⁴ P. Gardner, *J.H.S.* 1911, pp. 151–160;1913, p. 161. 'Ionia' is here taken in its wide sense as the Greek *Ἰωνία* of Asia Minor.

(16) **Italiotes** (circa 389 B.C.).

No federal coins.

The municipal coins of the Italiote cities are various in weight or type. Some coins of Croton, whose emblem is that of Heracles strangling the serpents, show some affinity to concurrent issues in Heracleia and Tarentum, on which the exploits of Heracles are figured.²⁵

(17) **Locris** (Opuntiorum).²⁶

Federal Coins. 338-300 B.C. *Æ*.

Types.—Head of goddess; the Locran Ajax.

Inscription.—ΛΟΚΡ, ΛΟΚΡΩΝ ΥΠΟΚ (*ὑποκίων*), ΛΟΚΡ (*ῶν*)

ΕΠΙΚΝΑ (*ῶν*).

Local Coins.—Pieces of identical type with the federal coins, but with municipal inscription, are struck at Opus, 400-338 B.C. (*Æ*) and 197-146 B.C. (*Æ*); also at Scaphia (*Æ*; same dates).

(18) **Lycia**.²⁷

Federal Coins.

(a) 520-323 B.C. None.

(b) 168 B.C.-43 A.D. *Æ* and *Æ*.

Predominant Type.—Head of Apollo Lycius.

Inscription.—On *Æ* coins: ΛΥ, ΛΥΚΙΩΝ.

On *Æ* coins: initials of town, with or without ΛΥΚΙΩΝ.

Local Coins.

(a) 520-323 B.C.—There is an abundance of *Æ* and *Æ* coins with similar types (e.g. a triskele), bearing the names of local dynasts and towns.

(b) 168 B.C.-43 A.D.—Eight towns issue independent *Æ* or *Æ* coins; fourteen others cease to strike.²⁸

(19) **The Macedonian League** (338-323 B.C.).

No federal coinage.

Local coinage continues unrestricted both in Macedonia and in the confederate Greek states.

(20) **Magnetes**.²⁹

Federal Coins. 197-146 B.C. *Æ* and *Æ*.

Type.—Artemis.

Inscription.—ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ.

²⁵ *Bosch Catalogue*, 1, pp. 131, 80-88, 80-81. [Hod remarks (p. 67) that the *Heracles diobols* of the fourth century struck at Tarentum and Heracleia, which are identical in type, should be regarded as Italian rather than local issues.—G. F. H.]

²⁶ *Hod*, pp. 336-7.

²⁷ *Hod*, pp. 498-508.

²⁸ Seven other Lycian towns struck local pieces alone, and issued no money of federal type. These towns, however, were not included in the Lycian League.

²⁹ *Hod*, pp. 389-391.

Local Coins.—About 290 B.C. Demetrius issued a series with municipal inscription and a device which is evidently the prototype of the federal Magnesian coins. But this issue came to an end long before the establishment of the federal mint.

(21) **The Nesiotic League** (315-168 B.C.).⁴⁰

Federal Coins.—None.

Local Coins.—Independent silver issues are abundant till 200 B.C. Local bronze coins are plentiful till the first century B.C.

(22) **Oetaeans**.⁴¹

Federal Coins.

(a) 400-344 B.C. \mathcal{R} and \mathcal{E} .

(b) 196-146 B.C. \mathcal{R} .

Types.—Lion's head; Heracles.

Inscription.— $\odot\text{I}\Lambda\Omega\text{N}$, $\odot\text{I}\Lambda\text{I}\Omega\text{N}$.

Local Coins.—None.

(23) **The Peloponnesian League**.

Federal Coins.—None.

Local Coins.—Independent series are issued without restriction.

(24) **Perrhaebi**.⁴²

Federal Coins.

(a) 480-400 B.C. \mathcal{R} .

Inscription.— ΠΕΡΑ .

(b) 196-146 B.C. \mathcal{E} .

Inscription.— ΠΕΡΡΑΙΒΩΝ .

No local coinage.

(25) **Phocia**.⁴³

Federal Coins.

(a) Circa 450⁴⁴-421 B.C. \mathcal{R} .

Type.—Ball's head.

Inscription.— $\Phi\odot$, $\Phi\odot\text{KI}$.

(b) 371-357 B.C. \mathcal{E} .

Type.—Head of Athena.

Inscription.— $\Phi\Omega$.

⁴⁰ Hmd. pp. 479-493.

⁴¹ Hmd. pp. 392-3.

⁴² Hmd. p. 304.

⁴³ Hmd. pp. 338-343. Hill, pp. 89-94.

⁴⁴ On the beginnings of Phocian coinage, see Earle Fox (*Num. Chron.* 1908, p. 81), who gives good reasons for dating the earliest known pieces to 450 rather than to 550 B.C.

(c) 356-344 B.C. \mathcal{A} and \mathcal{E} .⁴⁶

Type.—Head of bull, or of Delphian Apollo.

Inscription.—On \mathcal{A} coins: $\Phi\Omega$.On \mathcal{E} coins: $\Phi\Omega\kappa\epsilon\Omega\mathcal{N}$. On some pieces: ONYMAPXOY
or $\Phi\text{AAA}\text{IKOY}$.(d) 189^{ab}-146 B.C. See below.

Local Coins.—An independent series of silver coins was issued by Delphi 520-448 and 421-355 B.C. During this period Delphi was not a member of the League. During 448-421 B.C., and after 355 B.C., when Delphi was incorporated in the League, its mint was closed down.

In the fifth century Neon struck silver pieces with the bull's head type and twofold inscription: $\Phi\circ(\kappa\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\tau)$ on obverse, $\text{NE}(\text{ov})$ on reverse. A similar issue, with only a local inscription, is doubtfully referred to Lalaea.

Elateia is perhaps represented by a late fifth century coin with local type and legend. But this attribution is not certain.

In the second century a bronze series appears at Anticyra, Elateia, Ledon, and Lalaea, with federal type. The obverse is inscribed with the initial of the town, the reverse with the legend $\Phi\Omega\kappa\epsilon\Omega\mathcal{N}$.

Anticyra also struck late \mathcal{A} coins with local type and inscription.

(26) *Thessaly*.⁴⁷*Federal Coins.*

(a) To 344 B.C. None.

(b) 196-146 B.C. \mathcal{A} .

Predominant Type.—Head of Zeus; Athena Itonia.

Inscription.— $\Theta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\lambda\omicron\mathcal{N}$.

Local Coins.— \mathcal{A} and \mathcal{E} coins, with local types and inscriptions, are extremely plentiful previous to the formation of the League (especially between 400 and 344 B.C., when no less than twenty-one separate mints were active). Between 196 and 146 B.C. the local mints entirely cease to issue money.

The first impression conveyed by the foregoing survey will probably be one of bewilderment at the immense variety of coinage systems passed under review. The arrangements include not only the extremes of complete federal monopoly and complete local liberty of coinage, but almost every possible intermediate stage between these two limits. These variations, moreover, extend not only to different leagues, but to one and the same league in its different periods. The coinage system of the Boeotian League exhibits in turn almost every possible kind of relation between the central and the local

⁴⁶ It has been conjectured that gold coins must also have been struck at this time, in view of the large quantities of gold which the Phocians looted at Delphi. But no \mathcal{X} coins

are extant.

⁴⁷ For the date of the League's reconstitution, see Swoboda, p. 321, n. 10.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 290-312.

powers. In numerous other leagues similar if not quite so manifold changes of relation may be observed.⁴⁸

These diversities and fluctuations will appear all the more remarkable when we compare them with the rigid uniformity of modern federal coinages. Complete federal monopoly of issue is now the invariable rule, and deviation from this clear and simple arrangement is seldom, if ever, permitted.⁴⁹ The numerous compromises between federal and local authority which characterise the Greek issues would appear a veritable monetary Babel to the creators of the modern federal currencies.

The anomalies of Greek usage, however, are not a matter for surprise. It is but the rule of Greek coinages of all sorts and descriptions that they should alter their type and legend and even their standard of weight with an inconsequence which modern states dare not copy. In the case of the Greek federal states such a fluctuation of systems was the more to be expected, because these states remained in an experimental stage until a late period of Greek history and did not stereotype their constitutions as soon as the city and the territorial monarchies. It is but natural that the instability of federal institutions should have been reflected in a kaleidoscopic variety of coinages.

The complexity of the federal money systems makes it impossible to classify them into a few well-defined categories. But a rough tabulation of the principal varieties may be attempted.

(1) *Complete Decentralisation.*

(No federal coinage. Local coinages unrestricted and mutually independent.)

The Delphic Amphictyony, before 346 and after 339 B.C.

The Second Athenian Confederacy.

The Boeotian League, 146-27 B.C.

The Ionian Confederacy (fourth century onward).

The Italiote League.

The Macedonian League.

The Nesiotic League.

The Peloponnesian League.

(2) *The First Stage towards Centralisation.*

(No federal coinage. Local coinages standardised in weight and partly standardised in type.)

⁴⁸ E.g. the Aetolian League, Achaeans, Argives, Chalcidians, Epirotes, Euboeans, Locrians, Lycians, Phocians and Thessalians.

⁴⁹ So in Australia, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Switzerland, and the United States of America. The gold currency of Germany offers a partial exception to the general rule, for on the reverse face the heads of rulers other than the German Emperor, e.g. the kings of Bavaria and Saxony, appear.

A much closer parallel to the chaos of Greek federal coinage is to be found in the postage stamps of modern federations. Switzerland and the United States have established a federal monopoly of stamps. Australia and Austria-Hungary issue no federal stamps, but have standardised the issues of the constituent states. In Germany there is a concurrent emission of federal stamps and of one local issue (Bavaria).

The Boeotian League, 550-480, 456-446, 387-374 B.C.

The Ionian League (*temp.* Ionian Revolt).

The Lycian League, 520-323 B.C.

(3) *The Second Stage.*

(No federal mint. Coinage monopolised by one confederate state.)

The First Athenian Confederacy. (Monopoly of Athens.)

The Boeotian League, 446-386, 338-315 B.C. (Monopoly of Thebes.)

The Locrian League, before 338 and after 197 B.C. (Monopoly of Opus.)

(4) *The Third Stage.*

(No federal mint. Local issues struck on a common standard of weight, with a common federal type, and a common federal inscription side by side with the municipal title.)

The Achaean League, 280-146 B.C.

The Lycian League, 168 B.C.-43 A.D.

The Phocian League (second century).

(5) *The Fourth Stage.*

(Concurrent issues by federal and local mints.)

(a) Local issues unrestricted:—

The Aetolian League, 400-250 B.C.

The Achaean League, 370-360 and 280-146 B.C.

The Aeolian League.

The Delphic Amphictyony, 346-339 B.C.

The Arcadian League (fifth and fourth centuries).

The Boeotian League, 338-315 B.C.

The Chalcidian League, *circa* 450 B.C.

The Epirote Confederacy.

The Euboean League.

The Phocian League (fifth century).

(b) Local mints restricted to emission of bronze:—

The Aetolian League, 250-167 B.C.

(6) *The Final Stage.*

(Monopoly of federal coinage. No local issues.)

The League of the Aetolians.

The Aetolian League.

The Arcadian League, 251-244 B.C.

The Boeotian League, 480-456, 374-338, 288-146 B.C.

The Chalcidian League (fourth century).

The Cyrenaic League.

The Locrian League, 338-300 B.C.

The League of the Magnesians.

The Oetaean League.

The League of the Perrhaebians.

The Phocian League, 371-346 B.C.

The Thessalian League (second century).

A glance at the above table will show that certain classes are distinctly smaller than the rest. Comparatively few cases fall under heads (2), (3), and (4), whereas a large number is comprised under (1), (5), and (6). A further analysis of these cases will confirm the impression that classes (2), (3), and (4) are exceptional.

In class (2) we need hardly consider the Lycian League, which in the fifth and fourth centuries had hardly yet entered the pale of Greek nationality. The standardised coinage of the Ionian League lasted at least some half-dozen years and did not outlive the revolt which gave it birth. The similar issues of the Boeotian League had a far longer duration, but even these did not last beyond 374 B.C., which marks a comparatively early stage in the history of Greek federalism.

Class (3) represents a deviation from the normal type of federal states. Equality between the confederate communities was a requisite condition in any normal Greek league,³⁰ and the usurpation of an exclusive right of coinage by any one such state was an obvious, not to say ostentatious, breach of the rule of equality. It is significant that the two principal cases of a municipal monopoly of coinage are those of the Delian Confederacy and the Boeotian League from 446 to 386 B.C. These leagues were notoriously denatured by the predominance of Athens and Thebes over them, and both in turn were broken up on the ground of their having been converted into tyrannies. It is true that in return for the fame and profit which Athens derived from her mint-monopoly she gave her confederates a currency which was of convenient weight, of fine quality, and universally acceptable.³¹ Nevertheless it required some drastic legislation on her part before she eliminated the competition of other mints.³²

Class (4), which represents a fusion of federal and local coinages into an issue of duplicate character, so far from being a perversion of federal practice, constitutes a singularly equitable arrangement between all parties concerned. Hence it was adopted by those two federations which in theory at least had the best contrived constitutions, the Achaean League of Aratus and Philopoemen, and the later Lycian League. Nevertheless the coinage system of these leagues was not generally copied elsewhere: like other hybrids, it had no progeny.

The remaining three classes may be taken as illustrating the normal practice of Greek confederacies.

Class (1) is the smallest of the three, and it contains several cases which present peculiar features. The Delphic Amphictyony can hardly be ranked

³⁰ Note the stress laid on equality between states and state in Polybius' account of the Achaean League (ii. 38, 8): οἰσὶν γὰρ εἰς ἓν ἐνὸς αὐτοῦ ἐξουσιάζοντα ἐξουσιάζονται τὰς ἐν ἑστέῃ, καὶ δι' αὐτὰ καὶ τὰς διὰ πρὸς αὐτῶν μόνου, ταχέως καθίσταται εἰς ἀρμονίαν ἐν πολλῇ, διὸ καὶ τῶν χωρίων τὰς ἰσχυροτάτας, ἐκείναι καὶ φιλοφρονεῖται.

³¹ Babelon, pp. 464-6.

³² A general decree of prohibition against concurrent mints was passed in 415 B.C. (see esp. Weil, *Zeitschr. f. Num.* xxi. p. 52). It was preceded by other such measures, which Babelon (p. 467 *sup.*) would date back to the early days of the League.

in the number of genuine political leagues. Unfortunately for Greece, it failed to fulfil the promise of its youth. It did not grow into a national government for the defence of common Greek interests and the composure of inter-state quarrels, but lapsed into a comatose sacral college whose sphere of interests hardly extended beyond the stewardship of Apollo's estate at Delphi.

No serious political importance can be ascribed to the Nesiotic League, which was an almost purely formal body, and served no political purpose except to create a show of legitimacy for the Hellenistic monarchs who seized in turn the thalassocracy of the Aegean.⁵³ Neither did the Ionian League of post-Alexandrine times play a higher rôle than the Nesiotic League.⁵⁴ The Second Athenian Confederacy was a far more effective factor in Greek politics. But it was conceived in a peculiar spirit of mistrust against Athens, its organising member. Hence it was handicapped by a constitution which impeded the exercise of even a legitimate federal authority.⁵⁵ The total lack of federal control over the coinage of the constituent states is a reflex of this abnormal political organisation.

The Peloponnesian League is to be ranked among the foremost of Greek federations for practical usefulness. But it never developed more than a rudimentary constitution, and its directing agent, Sparta, was so little interested in money matters that it had not even a local coinage of its own. The absence of federal control over the other local currencies may be regarded as a consequence of Sparta's peculiar lack of organising capacity and her peculiar indifference to finance.

Of the remaining cases under this head, the most notable is that of the Hellenic League instituted by Philip and Alexander of Macedon. This federation was the most comprehensive of all Greek Leagues; its organisation was tolerably complete,⁵⁶ and its achievements were incomparably the most important. Its founder, moreover, was a man who understood very well the value of money, as is proved by the 'philips' which he struck in such abundance for his own kingdom of Macedon. A policy of complete *laissez faire* in regard to coinage is hardly what one would have expected of Philip and Alexander's League.

Class (6) is numerically the largest. It contains some important representatives of the federal principle, e.g. the Boeotian League in the days of its greatest power, the Chalcidian, Aetolian, and Thessalian Leagues. The Aetolian League presents perhaps the best example of federal centralisation, for none of the constituent states of the League ever struck a local issue.⁵⁷

⁵³ Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, pp. 76-8.

⁵⁴ *J.H.S.* 1815, pp. 184-6.

⁵⁵ Marshall, *The Second Athenian Confederacy*, pp. 50-55.

⁵⁶ Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden (Sitzungsberichte der k. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien, 1911)*.

⁵⁷ Warren (p. 58) has suggested that the high degree of centralisation which we find in

the Aetolian League is due to the fact that its constituent states were village communities which lacked the desire for autonomy so prevalent among Greek towns. But the Aetolian League, as remodelled at the end of the fourth century, was constructed not out of tribes but out of city-states of the standard type. See Swoboda, *op. cit.* pp. 330-332.

But a hardly less notable instance is that of the Thessalian League in the second century. Since in the fourth century Thessaly had no federal mint and twenty-one wholly independent local mints, the complete federal monopoly of the later period marks a very rapid progress towards centralisation.

On the other hand, in class (6), as in class (1), there is a large 'tail' of politically insignificant members. It is, indeed, almost an abuse of language to dignify with the name of 'federations' such associations as those of the Asinians, the Locrans, the Magnetes, the Oetaeans, and the Perrhaebi. So tiny were these groups that their territories hardly exceeded that of a fairly large city state, and the part which they played in Greek history is correspondingly minute.

The Arcadian and Cyrenaic Leagues of mid-third century were at any rate not mere toy articles. Their founders harboured the same ambitions as the contemporary statesmen of the Achaean League, the restitution of republican governments in place of despotisms, and the Arcadian League had at least a chance of growing to dimensions like those of the Achaean League. But both the leagues were destroyed in their infancy, so that they never had time to attain to any importance.

Another feature of class (6) is that its members do not, on the average, belong to a much later period than the members of the other classes. *A priori* one would suppose that the tendency of the federal coinage systems was towards progressive centralisation. It is a general law of federalism that those leagues which show any disposition to longevity should become more and more centralised in their institutions as time goes on. That the federal coinages should observe this law would seem but natural. But it would not be true to say that the most centralised of the federal coin systems were uniformly or even generally the latest.

Class (5) is at once numerous and substantial. Except the somewhat shadowy Aeolian League, and the enigmatic Chalcidian League of the fifth century,²⁸ all its members were of respectable size and displayed considerable political activity. If any coinage system deserves to be picked out as being most typical of Greek federal practice, it is the system of concurrent issue by federal and local mints. This system obviously lies midway between complete local liberty and complete federal monopoly. But it may approximate the more to the one or the other extreme according as the federal and local mints coin indiscriminately, or observe some rule by which the pieces of higher denominations are reserved for the federal mint. Of the latter arrangement we can discover hardly a trace among the Greek confederacies. Only in two instances, those of the Achaean League from 250 to 167 B.C., and the Boeotian League from 338 to 315 B.C., have we a clearly established case of this sort, for here alone do we find that the local issues were restricted to

²⁸ If the fifth-century coin with Olynthian type and legend *WALK* is not merely agonistic, it can only represent a transitory league which was formed by the Chalcidians

before their admission into the Delian League, or, more probably, during the revolt of 432/2 B.C., when Olynthos brought about a *synoesis* of Chalcidian communities (Thuc. i. 28).

bronze. In no other case can we discern a clearly marked tendency to reserve the issue of silver pieces or of higher values to the federal mint. Complete dualism of authority is the general rule where a concurrent issue of federal and local coins occurs. This dualism suggests that the Greek federalists had a tendency to regard their central and local governments as co-ordinate and equal, instead of hierarchising them into a higher and lower authority. Such co-ordination of competences is more likely to be found at the beginning than at the end of any process of political organisation. It bears out the conclusion that Greek federations as a whole were rudimentary structures, and lay a farther way off from finality than their successors of the present day.

In conclusion, I wish to express my obligations to Mr. G. F. Hill, who has helped me in the writing of this article with some important suggestions and corrections.

M. O. B. CASPARI.

NOTE.—Owing to the author's absence on military service, this article is printed without revision at his hands.—*EDD.*

VALONA.

THE Italian occupation of Valona has drawn attention to what has been called one of the two keys of the Adriatic. It may, therefore, be of interest to trace the history of this important strategic position, which has been held by no less than twelve different masters.

The name *αἰλῶς*, 'a hollow between hills,' was applied to various places in antiquity, and from the accusative of this word comes the Italian form 'Valona,' or, as the Venetians often wrote it, 'Avalona.' In antiquity there were, however, few allusions to this particular *αἰλῶν*, the probable date of its foundation being, therefore, fairly late, although the pitch-mine of Selenitza, three hours to the East, was worked by the Romans in the time of Ovid,¹ and Pliny the Elder² knew the now famous island of Saseno, to which both Lucan³ and Silius Italicus⁴ allude, as a pirate resort. But there is no mention of Valona till the second half of the second century A.D., when Ptolemy⁵ describes it as 'a city and harbour.' It subsequently occurs several times in the Antonine, Maritime, and Jerusalem Itineraries,⁶ and in the *Synékdemos* of Hieroklēs⁷; whereas Kánina, the little town on the hill above it, which may have been its akropolis, was 'built,' according to Leake,⁸ 'upon a Hellenic site,' and identified by Pouqueville⁹ with Oeneus, the fortress taken by Perseus during the third Macedonian war, and probably destroyed by Aemilius Paullus, which would thus explain its long disappearance from history.

Despite the importance of its position as a port of transit between Rome and Constantinople, Valona is rarely named even by Byzantine historians before the eleventh century. Bishops of Valona, who were at different times suffragans of Durazzo or Ohrida, are mentioned in 458, in 553, and in 519, when the legates sent by Pope Hormisdas to Constantinople were received by the then occupant of the see.¹⁰ It was there that Peter, Justinian's envoy, met those of Theodatus, the two Roman Senators, Liberius and Opilio, and learnt what had befallen Anaslasmitha, the prisoner of

¹ *Art. Am.* ii. 658; *Epist. ex Ponto*, iv. xiv. 549, 608, 611-12.

² 45.

³ *Jl. N.* iii. 36.

⁴ ii. 627; v. 639.

⁵ *ii.* 480.

⁶ *iii.* 12, § 2.

⁷ *Ed. Wesseling*, 325, 329, 332, 489, 497,

⁸ *Ed. Tentur*, p. 13.

⁹ *Travels in Northern Greece*, i. 2.

¹⁰ *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i. 284.

¹¹ *Acta et Diplomata ex Albanias medievae actatis illustratio*, i. 4, 5, 7.

Bolseza.¹¹ Constantine Porphyrogénitos¹² merely enumerates it as one of the cities comprised in the Theme of Dyrrachium. Possibly it was one of the Byzantine harbours between Corfu and the Drin, which escaped temporary absorption in the Bulgarian Empire of Symeon (c. 917). But Kánina was included in that of the other great Bulgarian Tsar Samuel (976-1014), until Basil II, 'the Bulgar slayer,' overthrew that powerful monarch,¹³ and it is, therefore, probable that Valona too was for a brief space a Bulgarian port. The Sicilian expeditions against Greece in the eleventh and twelfth centuries naturally brought Valona into prominence as a landing-place for troops. Anna Comnena¹⁴ frequently mentions it. Thus, in 1081, Bohemund, son of Robert Guiscard, took and burnt Kánina, Valona, and Jericho, as the ancient harbour of Eurychós (the Porto Raguseo of the Italians) was then called; Robert was nearly shipwrecked in a storm off Cape Glóssa, and later on spent two months in the haven of Jericho. When he left Albania in 1082 he bestowed Valona upon Bohemund, and when he made his second and fatal expedition in 1084 it was to Valona that he crossed from Otranto. Trade privileges at Valona (renewed by subsequent Emperors in 1126, 1148, and 1187) formed part of the price which the Emperor Alexios I. paid for the assistance of the Venetian fleet in this contest.¹⁵ It was there that the Greek Admiral Kontostéphanos watched for Bohemund's return, and shortly afterwards we find Michael Kekauménos Imperial governor of Valona, Jericho, and Kánina. In 1149, after the capture of Corfu, Manuel II. went to Valona, and encamped there several days before sailing for Sicily to punish King Roger for his attack upon Greece. He landed on the islet of Aelronésion (identified by Pouqueville and Professor Lámpros with Saseno); but storms prevented his 'punitive expedition,' so he left Valona by land for Pelagonia.¹⁶

The fourth crusade, which led to the dismemberment of the Greek Empire, consequently affected the Adriatic coast. The partition treaty of 1204 assigned to Venice the province of Durazzo, which included Valona, as well as Albania, and in the following year the Venetian *Podestà* at Constantinople formally transferred these possessions to the Republic, which sent Marino Valaresso with the title of 'Duke' to govern Durazzo. But meanwhile Michael I. Angelos had established in Western Greece the independent Hellenic principality known as the Despotat of Epeiros, which included both 'Old' and 'New' Epeiros (in the latter of which was Valona), extending from Naúpaktos to Durazzo, and which he agreed in 1210 to hold as a nominal fief of Venice, from the river Shkumbi, south of Durazzo, to Naúpaktos, paying a yearly rent, and promising to grant to the Venetian merchants a special quarter in every town of his dominions, freedom from

¹¹ Procopius (ed. Teubner), II. p. 23.

¹² III. 56.

¹³ Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, 167, 191, 202 s.

¹⁴ Ed. Teubner, I. 49-50, 126, 132, 137, 161, 177, 187, 193-94; II. 168-69, 180, 194, 197;

Recueil des historiens des Croisades - Historiens occidentaux, III. 177.

¹⁵ *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, II. xii. 118, 184.

¹⁶ Nikétas, 118-19.

taxes, and assistance in case of need against the Albanians.¹⁷ Thus Valona for fifty-three years formed an integral part of the Greek Despotat of Epeiros.

The mutual rivalry of the two Greek states which had arisen out of the ruins of the Byzantine Empire—the Empire of Nicaea and the Despotat of Epeiros—suggested to the ill-fated Manfred of Sicily that he might recover the ephemeral conquests of the Sicilian Normans on the Eastern shores of the Adriatic. In 1257, while Michael II. of Epeiros was at war with the Nicene troops, he occupied Valona, Durazzo, Berat, the Spinarza hills (near the mouth of the Vojussa, or perhaps Svernetsi on the lagoon of Valona), and their appurtenances; and Michael, desirous of securing Manfred as an ally against his Greek rival, made a virtue of necessity by conferring these places together with the hand of his daughter Helen upon the King of Sicily on the occasion of their marriage¹⁸ in 1259. Manfred wisely appointed as governor of his trans-Adriatic possessions a man with experience of the East, Filippo Chinardo, a Cypriote Frank, and his High Admiral. Indeed, when Manfred fell in battle at Benevento, fighting against Charles I. of Anjou, in 1266, Chinardo, who married Michael II.'s sister-in-law and received Kanina as her dowry, continued to hold his late master's Epeirote dominions, but later in the same year was assassinated at the instigation of the crafty Despot.¹⁹ The latter had doubtless hoped, now that his son-in-law was no more, to reoccupy the places which had been his daughter's and his sister-in-law's dowries. But a new claimant now appeared upon the scene. The fugitive Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II., by the treaty of Viterbo in 1267 ceded to Charles I. of Anjou "all the land which the Despot Michael gave, handed over and conceded as dowry or by whatsoever title to his daughter Helen, widow of the late Manfred, formerly Prince of Taranto, and which the said Manfred and the late Filippo Chinardo (who acted as admiral of the said realm) held during their lives."²⁰ The Sicilian garrisons of Valona, Kanina, and Berat held out, however, against both Michael II. and Charles I., the latter of whom was for some years too much occupied with Italian affairs to intervene actively beyond the Adriatic. Accordingly, a devoted follower of Chinardo, Giacomo di Balsignano (near Bari), remained independent as castellan of Valona; but in 1269 Charles, having made this man's brother a prisoner in Italy, declined to release him at the request of Prince William of Achaia, unless Valona were surrendered. Although he actually named one of his own supporters to take Balsignano's place, that officer held out at Valona for four years more, when he handed over Valona, but was at once reappointed castellan of both Valona and Kanina by Charles. Thus, in 1273, began the effective rule of the Angerins over Valona. In the following year, the Italian castellan received fiefs in Southern Italy in

¹⁷ *Font. Rev. Aust.* ii. xii. 472-479.

¹⁸ Miklouich et Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi*, iii. 240; M. Sarras, *op. cit.* Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romaines*, 107; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* vi. 774.

¹⁹ Del Hualice, *Codice Diplomatico del Regno di Carlo I.^o e II.^o d'Angiò*, i. 308; Pachymeres, i. 308.

²⁰ Bunsen, *Recherches et Mémoires*, i. 33.

exchange for Valona and Kárina, and a Frenchman, Henri de Courcelles, was appointed in his stead.²¹ Chinardo's heirs, who had at first been allowed to live on at Valona, were imprisoned at Trani.

The Angevins attached considerable importance to Valona, especially from a military point of view. Frequent mention is made of the castle in the Angevin documents; Greek fire was deposited there, its well is the subject of several inquiries, and it served as a base for Charles I's designs upon the Greek Empire, which were cut short by the Sicilian Vespers. The chief Angevin officials were a castellan (usually a Frenchman, e.g. Dreux de Vaux), a treasurer, and more rarely a 'captain' of the town, who was subordinate to the castellan, who was in his turn under the Captain and Vicar-General of Albania. The garrison sometimes consisted of Saracens from Lucera, and its fidelity could not always be trusted, for a commission was on one occasion sent over to inquire whether it had sold munitions to the Greek enemies of the Angevins. Nor was the harbour, which the Venetians frequented, free from pirates.²² After the death of the vigorous Despot Michael II, it was not so much from his feeble successor, Nikephoros I of Epeiros, as from the able and energetic Emperor Michael VIII. Palaiologos that the Angevins had to fear attacks upon Valona, especially after the defeat of their army and the capture of its commander at Berat in 1281. There is no documentary evidence of the presence of any Angevin governor at Valona after 1284, which, between that date and 1297, when we find a certain 'Calemanus' described as 'Duke' of the Spinarza district, and, therefore, almost certainly of Valona also, must have been occupied by the Byzantines.²³ Nevertheless, the Angevins continued to regard the Epeirote lands of Manfred and Chinardo as theirs on paper. They are mentioned in the ratification of the treaty of Viterbo by the titular Latin Empress Catherine in 1294, by which they were confirmed to King Charles II, who in the same year transferred them to his son Philip of Taranto,²⁴ then about to marry Thamar, daughter and heiress of the Despot Nikephoros I of Epeiros.

The Byzantines evidently attached considerable importance to Valona and its district, for the successive Byzantine governors were men of family and position: Andronikos Asan Palaiologos, subsequently governor of the Byzantine province in the Morea, who was son of the Bulgarian Tsar John Asan III, connected with the reigning Imperial family, and father-in-law of the future Emperor John Cantacuzene; Constantine Palaiologos, son of Andronikos II; and a Laskaris.²⁵ Under these exalted personages were minor officials, such as George Ganzu, a friend of the Despot Thomas of Epeiros, and his son Nicholas, who successively held the office of Admiral of Valona for over twenty years, while the latter on one occasion grandiloquently

²¹ Del Giudice, II, i. 230; *Act. et Dip. Alb.* I. 73, 84, 85, 93, 94.

²² *Ib.* 100, 115, 117, 127, 129; *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Ser. IV, II. 335; *Fond. Rev. Anti.* II. xiv. 230, 243.

²³ *Act. et Dip. Alb.* I. 146, 157.

²⁴ Duange, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople* (ed. 1729), II. *Recueil*, 21, 22.

²⁵ *Act. et Dip. Alb.* I. 159; *Diplomatarium Veneto-Byzantinum*, I. 150, 223; Mikulovich et Müller, III. 100.

styles himself *protosevastos et protovestiarius et primus camerarius* of the Emperor; the *sevastos* Theodora Lykoudas, and Michael Malagaria, prefect of the castle of Kánina.²⁶ During this second Byzantine period, when Valona was *civitas Imperatoris Grecorum* (as a document styles it), there was a considerable trade with both Ragusa and Venice, and a colony of resident Venetian merchants there. Occasionally, however, serious quarrels arose between the Ganza family and the Ragusans and Venetians, who demanded satisfaction from the Emperor, and on one occasion Ganza's son was killed. That there was likewise traffic with the opposite Italian coast is clear from King Robert of Naples repeated orders to his subjects to export nothing to a place which belonged to the hostile Byzantine Empire, and to which the Angevins still maintained their claims. For as late as 1328 Philip of Taranto named a certain Raimond de Termes commander of Berat and Valona,²⁷ and death alone prevented him and his brother, John of Gravina, who in 1332 received the kingdom of Albania with the town of Durazzo in exchange for the principality of the Morea, from prosecuting the Angevin claims. The Albanians, however, rose and attacked Berat and Kánina in 1335, but were speedily suppressed by Andrónikos III, the first Emperor who had visited Albania since Manuel I.²⁸

But a more formidable enemy than Angevins or Albanians now threatened Valona. The great Serbian Tsar, Stephen Dushan, was now making Serbia the dominant power of the Balkan peninsula, and the value of the harbour of Valona and the castle of Kánina could scarcely escape the notice of that remarkable man. An entry in a Serbian psalter informs us that the Serbs took Valona and Kánina²⁹ in the last four months of 1345 or in the early months of 1346, and Serbian they remained till the Turkish conquest. Dushan, like the Byzantines, showed his appreciation of these places by appointing as governor of Valona, Kánina, and Berat his brother-in-law, John Komnenos Asën, brother of the Bulgarian Tsar, John Alexander. This Serbian governor, a Bulgar by birth, married Anna Palaiologina, widow of the Despot John II. of Epeiros, and mother of the last Despot of Epeiros, Nikephoros II, and became so far Hellenised as to take the name of Komnenos (borne by the Greek Despots of Epeiros, whose successor he pretended to be, and whose title of 'Despot' he adopted), and to sign his name in Greek in the two Slav documents which he has bequeathed to us.³⁰ Although, like his predecessors, he preyed upon Venetian and other shipping at Valona, for which the mighty Serbian Tsar paid compensation, he became a Venetian citizen,³¹ and was allowed to obtain weapons in Venice for the

²⁶ *Dip. Ven.-Leo*, I. 125, 161; *Act. et Dip. Alb.*, I. 214, 215, 229, 237; *Archivio Veneto*, ex. 91.

²⁷ *Dip. Ven.-Leo*, I. 125, 130, 136-38, 137-40, 154, 159-62, 191; *Arch. Ven.*, ex. 92; *Act. et Dip. Alb.*, I. 217, 245.

²⁸ Cantacuzenus, I. 495.

²⁹ *Sources*, IV. 29; Jireček, *Geschichte der*

Serben, I. 383 (thus disproving Hopf's statement, for which there is no authority, that Valona became Serbian in 1337).

³⁰ *Spassnik*, 34, 29, 30.

³¹ *Monumenti spettanti alla storia Albanese Meridionale*, III. 176. Predelli, *I Libri Communitativi*, III. p. 207.

defence of Cheimarra and its port of Palermo from Sicilian pirates.²² After the death of Dushan and in the confusion which ensued he embraced the cause of the latter's half-brother, the Tsar Symeon, who had married his step-daughter, Thomais, against Dushan's son, and he is last mentioned in 1363, when nearly all the Venetians at Valona died of the plague, and he perhaps with them.²³ Alexander, perhaps his son, followed him as 'Lord of Kánina and Valona,' and allied himself with Ragusa,²⁴ of which he became a citizen. The name of Porto Raguseo (Pasha Liman of the Turks), at the mouth of the Dukati valley on the bay of Valona, still preserves the memory of this connexion, and was the harbour of the 'argosies' of the South Slavonic Republic, whose merchants had their quarters halfway between Valona and Kánina.

In 1371 these places came into the possession of the family of Balsha, of Serbian origin, which a few years earlier had founded a dynasty in what is now Montenegro. Balsha II, who with his two brothers had already taken Antivari and Scutari (their principal domicile), killed a certain George, perhaps Alexander's son—for Alexander is thought to have perished by the side of Vukashin at the battle of the Maritza in 1371—and in a Venetian document of the next year is described as 'Lord of Valona.' In consequence of his usurpation the inhabitants of Valona fled for refuge to the islet of Saseno in the bay, and placed themselves under the protection of Venice.²⁵ Under Balsha II. Valona formed part of a considerable principality, for on the death of his last surviving brother, in 1378, the 'Lord of Valona and Budua' had become sole ruler of the Zeta—the modern Montenegro—and then, by the capture of Durazzo from Carlo Topia, 'Prince of Albania,' assumed the title of 'Duke' from that former Venetian duchy. By his marriage with Comita Musachi, he became connected with a powerful Albanian clan²⁶; but his ambition caused his death, for Carlo Topia begged the Turks to restore him to Durazzo, while Balsha, like other Christian rulers of his time, instead of concentrating all his forces against the Turkish peril, wasted them in fighting against Tvrtko I, the great King of Bosnia, for the possession of Cattaro. Consequently, when the Turks marched against him, he could raise only a small army to oppose them; he fell in battle on the Vojussa in 1385, and his head was sent as a trophy to the Sultan.

Upon his death his dominions were divided: Valona with Kánina Saseno, Cheimarra, and 'the tower of Pyrgos'²⁷ alone remained to his widow. Left with only a daughter, Regina, she felt unable to defend all these places from the advancing Turks; so, in 1386, she offered 'the castle and town of

²² *Hopl. apud Erich. und Gruber, Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, lxxv. 458.

²³ *Mon. ap. A. St. Mer.* iv. 68.

²⁴ *Ibid.* xxvii. 264; Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica*, 178.

²⁵ Orbini, *Il regno de gli Slavi*, 289; *Mon. ap. A. St. Mer.* iv. 100-103. For the history of Saseno *ap. Lampson in Née's Exe-*

cusque, xi. 57-93.

²⁶ *Historia della casa Musachi ap. Hopf, Chronique*, 280.

²⁷ *From torre del Prego, torre Pirgi*, Hopf has evolved Parga, which in 1320 formed part of the Despotat of Epeiros (*Dip. Ven. Let.* i. 170), and became Venetian in 1401.

Valona to Venice on certain conditions.²⁸ The cautious Republic replied that her offer would be accepted, if she would hand over freely 'the castle of Kanina with its district and the town of Valona with its district.' This shows that the Venetians, like their present Italian representatives, realised that Valona required Kanina for its defence, as well as a certain *Hinterland*. The reply went on to add that, in case she declined to accept this condition, Venice would be content to take over these places, paying her half their rents for her life, while she paid half their expenses. Under these circumstances, she could remain at Valona, or come to Venice, as she chose. But, if she would accept neither proposition, then Venice would be willing to take Kanina and the other places, giving her all the rents for her life, on condition that she paid all the expenses of their maintenance. Nothing came of this negotiation; but in 1389 her envoy agreed to furnish three rowers annually to the captain of the Venetian fleet in recognition of Venetian dominion over the islet of Saseno, which commanded the bay. Thus Venice, like the late Admiral Bettolo, considered that the occupation of that islet was sufficient. In 1393 Dame Comita Balsha made Venice a second offer of Valona. But, in the meantime, the battle of Kossovo had been fought; the Serbian Empire had fallen, and it was obvious that the Turks had become the most powerful Balkan state. Thus, although Comita was ready to give Venice the men whom she had promised in recognition of Venetian rights over 'the tower of Pyrgos and Suseno,' and disposed to cede Valona, her offer was declined with thanks, because 'we Venetians prefer our friends to remain in their own dominions and govern them rather than we.' Two years later her envoy, the Bishop of Albania, made a third offer of all the four places which she held: Valona, Kanina, Cheimarra, and the tower of Pyrgos, provision being made for her and her son-in-law that they might go where they liked and live honourably there. This meant in cash 7,000 ducats for their lives out of the 9,000 which the bishop estimated as the total revenue of the above places. The Venetians ordered their admiral to inquire into the state of the places and the amount which they produced, before deciding, and ere that Comita died.²⁹

She was succeeded by her son-in-law, 'Marchisa' (or Merksha) Jarkovich, 'King of Serbia,' a near relative of her own by blood and a cousin of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II. He must, therefore, have been a relative of the latter's Serbian wife, who was a daughter of Constantine Dragash, Despot of part of Macedonia.³⁰ He at once, in 1396, offered to cede Valona, Cheimarra, Berat, and the tower of Pyrgos to Venice, but was told that his offer could not be accepted till the Venetians had accurate information about them. He then turned to Ragusa, of which he became an honorary citizen with leave to deposit all his property there for safety. In 1398 he again applied to Venice, because he did not see how he could defend his lands against the Turks. Venice thought it undesirable that they

²⁸ *Mon. ep. h. st. Slav.* iv. 226.

²⁹ *Ibid.* iv. 222, 260, 308, 349.

³⁰ Miklouchev et Muller, ii. 220; *Hopd. Chroniques*, &c.

should become Turkish, but decided first to send her admiral to inquire into their revenues, cost, and condition, expressing a preference for leaving them in their present ruler's hands. In 1400, as this inquiry had not yet been made, another envoy was sent from Valona to Venice, only to receive the same answer. Upon Merksha's death, his widow sent yet another envoy to Venice in 1415, with a like result, and was reminded of her late husband's and her subjects' debts to the Republic. Then the end came; a document of 21 July, 1418, informs us that Valona had fallen into the hands of the Turks.⁴¹ Consequently, lest they should attack the Venetian colony of Corfu or passing Venetian ships, the Venetian baily, who was about to proceed to Constantinople, was instructed to endeavour to obtain its restitution with that of Kánina and its other appurtenances to Regina Balsha, whose husband had been, like herself, a Venetian citizen. If the Sultan refused, then the baily was authorised to offer up to 8,000 ducats for Regina's former possessions, and another offer was made in 1424.⁴² The Turks, however, retained Valona continuously for 273 years, and, with one brief interval, for 495.

There is little record of its history in the Turkish period. In June, 1436, Cyriacus of Ancona spent two days there, and copied a Greek inscription which he found on a marble base at the Church of Georgios Tropaeophoros.⁴³ In 1466 Venice was alarmed at the repairs executed there by its new masters, which endangered Venetian interests owing to its proximity to the Republic's colonies in that part of the world—Corfu and its dependencies, in the South, and Durazzo, Alessio, Dulcigno, Antivari, Dagno, Satti, Scutari and Drivasto, in the North—and to the quantity of wood for shipbuilding which it could furnish. Accordingly, the Republic suggested to Skanderbeg to attack it with his own forces and with Venetian and colonial troops.⁴⁴ Nothing came of this suggestion, but in 1472 a Corfiote, John Vlastós, offered to consign Valona and Kánina to Venice on condition of receiving a fixed sum down and an annuity; and the Republic instructed the Governor of Corfu to enter into negotiations with him.⁴⁵ This also failed, and Valona, in Turkish hands, became, as had been feared, a base for attack against the Ionian Islands and even Italy. Thence, in 1479, the Turks moved against the remaining possessions of Leonardo III. Tocco, Count of Cephalonia; thence, in the following year, they sailed to take Otranto.⁴⁶ In 1501, during the Turco-Venetian War, Benedetto Pesaro entered the bay of Valona with a flotilla of light vessels, but a sudden hurricane caused the death by drowning of all his men except those taken prisoners by the Turks.⁴⁷ In 1518 the Governor of Valona, a renegade Cheimarriote, succeeded, with the aid of Sitan Pasha, the Turkish Admiral, in compelling

⁴¹ *Mon. ap. h. St. Marc.* iv. 284, 412, 427; v. 81, 129; xii. 198, 199, 203; Gebick, *La*

Zedda e la Dinastia dei Baliosi, 204.

⁴² *Sithas, Moneta 'Eλληνικής Τροφίας*, i. 172.

⁴³ *Epigrammata scripta per Italicum*,

p. xxi.

⁴⁴ *Mon. ap. h. St. Marc.* xxii. 372.

⁴⁵ *Hopl. ap. Eruch und Gruber*, lxxxi. 159.

⁴⁶ *Sithas, Mon.* vi. 135, 137, 150, 173, 218.

⁴⁷ *Sithas, Mon.* ix. 174.

Cheimarra to accept Turkish suzerainty by the concession of large privileges. Sinan was so greatly pleased with Valona that he became its governor. In the same year two Turkish subjects attempted from Valona a *coup de main* upon Corfu, and it was there that the former of the two great Turkish sieges of that island, that of 1537, was decided by Suleiman I.⁴⁶ In 1570 a further descent was made from Valona, where the Turks had established a cannon-foundry, upon Corfu.⁴⁷ In 1638 the attack by the Venetian fleet upon certain Tunisian and Algerian ships off Valona nearly provoked war with Turkey, and led to a temporary prohibition of trade between the inhabitants of that and of other Turkish possessions and Venice.⁴⁸

The Turco-Venetian war towards the close of the seventeenth century led at last to the Venetian occupation of Valona, then a place of 150 houses surrounded by a low wall. The motives were the fertility of the district and the desire to expel the Barbary corsairs. Morosini's successor, Girolamo Cornaro, accompanied by many Greeks, after being delayed two days by a storm off Suseno, landed at Kryonéri, a little to the south of the town, early in September, 1690, where he was joined by 500 Cheimarriotes and Albanians. A Turkish attempt to prevent his landing was repulsed. Kanina, weakly fortified by crumbling walls, was forced to surrender, and its fall had as a natural consequence the capitulation of Valona without a blow. Cornaro, leaving Giovanni Matteo Bembo and Teodoro Corrado as *proveditori* of Valona and Kanina, proceeded to attack Durazzo, but was forced by a storm to return to Valona, where, on 1 October, he died.⁴⁹ Venice intended at first to keep these two acquisitions. Carlo Pisani was ordered to remain at 'Uroglia' (Gerovoliá opposite Corfu) with four galleys for their defence, while the fortifications of Kanina were repaired and cisterns made. But when the Capitan Pasha encamped on the banks of the Vojussa to intimidate the Albanians, many of whom wished to join Venice, the garrisons began to suffer from lack of food and consequent desertions. Thereupon, Domenico Mocenigo, the new Venetian Captain-General, proposed and carried out the demolition of Kanina by mines, and wrote to the Home Government advocating the destruction of Valona on the ground that its preservation would cripple the campaign in the Morea. A debate upon its fate followed in the Senate. Francesco Foscarini urged its retention on account of its geographical position at the mouth of the Adriatic and on a fine bay, well supplied with fresh water from Kryonéri (or 'Acqua Fredda'). He alluded to the valuable oak forests in the neighbourhood, whose acorns furnished the substance known by the topical name of *valonea* to dyers, to the ancient pitch-mines, the salt-pans, and the fisheries. To these material considerations he added the loss of prestige involved in the surrender of a place whose capture had been celebrated with joy by Pope Alexander VIII.

⁴⁶ A. Mauroceni, *Historia Veneta* (ed. 1623), 172.

⁴⁷ Pretelli, *Giannini*, vii. pp. 190-93.

⁴⁸ Sathas, *Memo.* II, 218; Paruta, *Storia della guerra di Cipro*, 225.

⁴⁹ Garzanti, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia* (ed. 1720), I, 365-71.

and announced as an important event to the King of Spain, because it signified the destruction of the corsairs, so long the terror of the Papal and Neapolitan coast of the Adriatic. Besides, 'Valona,' he concluded, 'opens for us the door into Albania.' To him Michele Foscarini replied, proposing to leave the decision to the naval council, and this proposal was adopted. Mocenigo's first idea had always been to abandon the place; and his resolve was confirmed by the advance of the Turkish troops under Chadil Pasha: but General Charles Sparre, who was sent to execute his orders, found that the rapid approach of the enemy made such an operation too dangerous. The Venetians accordingly burnt the suburb, but prepared to defend the town. But at the outset both Bembo and Sparre were killed by the Turkish artillery fire, and, though the garrison made a successful sortie, the Captain-General repeated his order to blow up Valona. Four cannon and one mortar were left there to deceive the Turks, and on 13 March, 1691, after a siege of forty days, they too were removed and Valona evacuated and destroyed. The Turks offered no opposition to the retreating Venetians, and the opinion was freely expressed that the place could have been defended. Thus, after six months, ended the Venetian occupation of Valona.²² When Pouqueville²³ visited it rather more than a century later, he saw the remains of the two forts blown up by the Venetians, and found that one street with porticoes recalled their former residence. In his time the population was 6,000, including a certain number of Jews banished from Ancona by Paul IV. The place was then, as now, very unhealthy in summer, but he foretold a brilliant future for it, if the marshes were once drained.

The Turks neglected Valona, as they neglected all their Albanian possessions. Sinan Pasha had been so good and popular a governor that, although a native of Konieh, he was nicknamed 'the Arnaut,' and his descendants long held the appointment as almost a family fief; indeed, as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, the natives of Valona besieged and cut to pieces a certain Ismail Pasha, who had endeavoured to wrest the governorship of the town from one of Sinan's descendants.²⁴ A generation later, however, a sanguinary feud, which broke out between the members of this governing family, led the other notables of Valona to invoke the intervention of the famous Ali Pasha of Joannina, who had already cast covetous eyes on the place, then ruled by Ibrahim Pasha. But the treacherous 'Lion of Joannina' carried off not only Ibrahim but also the notables of Valona to the dungeons of his lake-fortress, where they were subsequently put to death. Ibrahim, however, lingered on, and was forced to address a petition to the Turkish Government begging it, in consideration of his age and infirmities, to bestow the governorship of Valona and Berat upon his gaoler's eldest son, Mouchtar Pasha, who appointed a Naxiote Christian, Damirales, as his representative in the former town. In 1820 the Turkish authorities, resolved to crush the too-powerful satrap of Joannina,

²² *Ib.* 390-407; *Epitome*, 254.

²³ *Voyage*, i, 285.

²⁴ Anaxantios, *Xronologia eti Hellenes*, i, 190-92, 248-49.

easily induced the people of Valona to drive out Mouchtar's partisans. But the population repeatedly gave the Turks cause for alarm; and in 1828 Rechid Pasha treacherously executed a powerful Bey of Valona, who had come to pay his respects to him at Joannina. Nevertheless the local people continued to resist any obnoxious Turkish authority.²⁵

During the first Balkan war, on 28 November, 1912, Albanian independence was proclaimed at Valona, and an Albanian Government formed, of which Ismail Kemal Bey was President.²⁶ But when an Albanian principality was created in the following year, and Prince William of Wied was chosen as its ruler, Valona recognised Durazzo as the capital. Meanwhile, Italy had intimated that she could not consent to the inclusion of Valona, to which she attached special importance, within the new Greek frontier; and insisted on the islet of Saseno, which had formed part of the Hellenic kingdom since 1864, being ceded to the Albanian principality. Greece complied with this demand, and on 15 July, 1914, the Greek garrison abandoned Saseno at the order of the Venizélos Cabinet. When the European war broke out, Italy took the opportunity, on 30 October, to occupy Saseno by troops under the command of Admiral Patris, who found it inhabited by twenty-one persons, and rechristened the highest point 'Monte Bandiera' from the Italian flag which was hoisted there.²⁷ She had sent a sanitary mission to Valona itself, and on 25 December occupied that town. Now, as in 1690 and as in the days of Manfred and his successors, Kanina is likewise in Italian hands, while for the first time in its long history Valona has been connected with Great Britain, for the new jetty there was the work of the British Adriatic Mission, sent to rescue the retreating Serbian army.

RULERS OF VALONA.

Byzantine Empire	1081	Byzantine Empire	(?) 1297-1342
Normans of Sicily	1081-4	Serbs	1342-1417
Byzantine Empire	1084-1204	Turks	1417-1690
Despotat of Epirus	1204-67	Venetians	1690-1
Manfred	1257-66	Turks	1691-1912
Chiurdo	1266	Albanians	1912-14
Giacomo di Balsignano	1266-73	Italians	25 Dec. 1914
Angevins of Naples	1273-(?) 97		

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²⁵ *Ib.* i. 291, 288, 296, 311, 319, 328-29, 383, 400-L. 400-10.

p. 71.

²⁶ *H. Messagero*, 31 Oct. 1914.

²⁷ *Diplomatische Annalen* (Wien, 1914).

THE PLOT OF THE *ALCESTIS*.

THE immediate occasion of these notes on the *Alcestis* of Euripides was a recent performance of the play at the Little Theatre in London. In this performance, though the programme professed that the interpretation which had been adopted was essentially that proposed by Dr. Verrall in 1895, an innovation seemed to be contemplated which even at first sight, and still more when one went behind the English version to the original, appeared to stray beyond reasonable conjecture, and indeed ran counter in some points to the express indications of Euripides. In particular, the genuine reluctance of Admetus to give the assurance which Alcestis asks, that he will not marry again, was so greatly emphasized, and so markedly enhanced by his behaviour in the last scene, till the identity of the veiled woman was disclosed, as to lead up to a catastrophe which was tragical in every sense, and 'satyric' in tone; while the behaviour of the restored Alcestis showed only too clearly that in her interval for cool reflection at the tomb she had taken the measure of Admetus; that it was only with reluctance that she had returned to this life at all; and that it was the crowning point of her misery to find that the reason why she was restored was that she might resume her place as his wife. This, at all events, was the manner of her retreat into the palace, and the convulsive writhings of Admetus both before and after it hardly admitted any other interpretation. The one cheerful spot in the gloom was the hilarity of Herakles, who, tactless as ever, bade them fare well and 'live happy ever afterwards.'

Now of all this thoroughly modern nonsense there is no hint at all in the Greek; but in the process of verifying that rather obvious fact I have been led to question also some other current interpretations, and in particular that of Dr. Verrall, which, as readers of his essay on *Alcestis* in *Euripides the Rationalist* will remember, rests on two cardinal points: first, on the assumption that Admetus 'deliberately accepted the sacrifice of another life for his own'—conduct, that is, which 'could be dignified and justified only if it were his duty to live; if his life were important to others, and much more important than hers, which nevertheless Euripides does not show, or indeed give us reason to suppose.' And, secondly, he relies on an estimate of the altercation between Admetus and Phereas, and of the whole behaviour of Herakles, as 'mechanically useless and aesthetically repulsive'; 'they are useless to the conduct of the story, and according to an instinct which, not

without reason, we assume to be universal, they are repugnant to the solemnity of the topic.' As regards Phères, Dr. Verrall is here assuming further that there was, as he says on p. 7, 'no other way of redeeming the life of Admetus except the self-sacrifice of Alcestis.' This, however, is in mere contradiction to the text. It is precisely because there was another way, namely, by the substitution of Phères himself, and because this other way had been expressly indicated, not merely by the traditional legend, but at the outset of the piece by Apollo (line 16), that the altercation with Phères was not merely admissible, but dramatically inevitable. To ignore this alternative, as it seems to me, is to disregard one of the main characteristics in which the Greek view of family life must be regarded as differing fundamentally from our own. I hope to be able to show that the behaviour of Phères was neither 'mechanically useless' to Euripides nor 'aesthetically repulsive' to a fifth-century audience. I hope also to show that while there is no evidence that Admetus 'deliberately accepted the sacrifice of another life for his own, the tragedy of his situation consists precisely in this, that Admetus himself had no choice in the matter; that it was not so much that if no substitute could be found Admetus must die, as that if any other person volunteered to take his place, Admetus *must live*, and thereby must endure, among other disastrous consequences, the unjust blame which, in fact, did befall him at the hands of Phères and other 'bad men,' and has befallen him also at the hands of most modern commentators, including Dr. Verrall.

I hope also to show, by some study of what for short I will call the sociological content of the play, that these, and with them some other difficulties, tend to disappear in the light, first of the position of Admetus, and then of the motives of Alcestis herself as expressly presented by Euripides, especially when those motives are contrasted with what again for short I will call the 'ordinary' presuppositions of current social morality, as these too are expressed by Euripides in utterances of all characters in the piece, and particularly in those later scenes which make up what I venture to call the 'production of Admetus.'

I.—*The Position of Admetus.*

From the beginning to the end of the play there is not a word to suggest that Admetus had really any choice in the matter. If there is one thing certain about the character of the Moiræ, it is that whatever they ordain neither men nor gods can alter, and in Apollo's opening speech he states expressly that the boon (as he intended it to be) which he secured for Admetus was a decision of the Moiræ, contrived indeed by his own deceit, but none the less binding and irrevocable. The situation is briefly this: though the Moiræ have fixed in advance the death-day of Admetus, as of all other men, Apollo has secured that on that occasion not Admetus but someone else shall die, provided only that that other volunteers to do so. That is why all Admetus' entreaties to Alcestis not to die are at the same

time quite unavailing and entirely appropriate to a man in his position. He does not want her to die at all; indeed, by general admission and his own repeated assertions, he has every reason to want her to live. It is only her will-to-die that defeats his will that she should live, and he die, after all, in the natural course. It is true that after her death, when he is reviewing his own position,¹ he pictures what people will say, namely, that his continuance in life is a disgrace, that he dared not die, and sacrificed his wife, and therefore his manhood. That too, they will say, is why he has fallen out with his parents, because he was himself afraid of death, and he expressly adds *τοιάνδε πρὸς κακοῖσι κληδὸνα ἔξω*; this is what his enemies will say. Compare *ὅστις ἐχθρὸς ὃν κερεῖ* in line 954. There is no hint on his part, or on the part of anyone in the play except Phereus, who has himself played the coward, that it is by any act of his that Alcestis has come by her death; and whatever we may think of the behaviour of Admetus to Phereus, there appears to be no disagreement among commentators that the character of Phereus is contemptible (*κακός*), or that Euripides intended it to appear so.

Apollo, in his opening speech, puts down the whole trouble to Zeus; but that is not quite fair. Apollo himself was directly to blame for a want of foresight which is less excusable in him than in another deity, seeing how closely, in his rôle of *Διὸς προφήτης*, he is involved in the affairs of men as well as in those of Heaven. Apollo's knowledge of human nature, in fact, wide though it was, has for once failed him. He had arranged with the Moiræ to guarantee on those terms a fresh lease of life to Admetus, without suspicion that he would be put to the smallest embarrassment to realise this favour. Surely, for so good a man and so beloved a king, not one but many persons, whose lives were of smaller account, would claim the privilege of dying in his place. Apollo's words (lines 15-18):

πάντας δ' ἐλέγξας καὶ διεξελθὼν φίλους,
πατέρα, γεραιὴν θ' ἢ σφ' ἔτισκε μητέρα,
οἶχ' εὖρε, πλὴν γυναικός, ὅστις ἤθελε
θανῶν πρὸ κείνου μὴδ' ἔτ' εἰσορᾶν φάος,

seem to me to make it clear that Admetus had begun by sharing this view. He belonged, like Agamemnon, Achilles, and other heroes of Attic tragedy, to an age in which, as the tragedians and their audiences believed, human sacrifices and substituted victims were not regarded as anything out of the common: a belief which, by the way, is totally independent of the question whether such sacrifices, or any ritual survivals indicating their former prevalence, survived or not in fifth-century Greece. It was only when the

¹ In lines 954-961:—

ἐπεὶ δὲ αὖ, ὅστις ἐχθρὸς ὃν κερεῖ, τὴνδε
ἰδοὺ τὸν αἰσχρὸν ζῶνθ', ἢ οὐκ ἔληθ' ὁμοίᾳ,
ἀλλ' ἢ ἐγὼ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀνέχχ' ἄλγος
κέρωνος ἄδην, αἷν' ἀπὸ τίνας δουρεῖ;

ἐπὶ τοῖς τέλει, αὐτὰς οἱ φίλους
θανεῖν, τοιάνδε πρὸς κακοῖσι κληδὸνα
ἔξω. τί μοι ὅγε ἔστιν αἰδώς, φίλοι,
ἀκούει κλέωνι καὶ κακῶς πεποιημένῳ;

new decree of Fate had been formally proclaimed, in whatever was the customary form in Phœac, that embarrassment began. To the surprise of everyone, nobody came forward to save Admetus. Subjects and friends alike failed to realise the reasonable expectation of Apollo and of everyone else. Even the old father and mother, whom, seeing how old they were (as Herakles says in the play) and how closely bound in affection to Admetus, everybody, who did not know them as well as we have come to do, would have pictured running into the vacancy rather than see their only son predecease them, stood aside. So much for the negative aspect of the matter. Apollo's innocent and, in fact, reasonably well-founded calculations had gone completely astray, and yet Admetus was in no way himself to blame. In spite of Apollo's good-will and good offices, he would yet have died on his proper day if nothing else had happened to prevent it.¹ There is no hint that he himself expressed, then or subsequently, any positive desire to survive his appointed day; and whether he did so or not matters nothing, for he could use no compulsion: the substitute had to volunteer. Even after the disaster has come upon him, and he is in utter misery, he does not once express regret that he has not stood to his fate, and released Alcestis. On the contrary, true to the conception now proposed of his character and situation, he behaves as though there was hope, as long as there was life, that Alcestis would even now change her mind. It is she, in fact, who has to assure him that it is now too late for her to recant: that she is, in fact, dying, and too near death for recovery to be possible—all, however, without for one moment faltering in her resolve that it shall be she, and not he, who shall die on that day.

I submit, then, that a fair reading of the text clears Admetus of the charge that by any act of his he has caused another person to die to save himself. The only question at issue was whether, on that date, Admetus or someone else should die. That question could only be settled by the voluntary resolve of somebody not Admetus. No one outside the family chose to take that resolve; and Admetus must therefore surely have died, had not Alcestis of her own motion, and against all his entreaties resolved that if it was a choice between her husband's death and her own, it was better that she should go, and that he should stay.

II.—*The Motives of Alcestis*

This brings us to the second link of argument. Why did Alcestis wish to die in place of Admetus? This is obviously the central question of the

¹ A similar hint concludes the Moid's Narrative (in 209 ff.).

ΣΑΛ' ἄλλ' αὖτ' οὐκ ἔγγυς ἐγγυτέρω
οὐ γὰρ τὶ κέρως εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς κείνου
Ζεὺς ἐκ κούρης κούρης ἐπαπαύσας.

With these facts of the pedigree in mind, it is difficult to understand the opprobrium into which Admetus has fallen among commentators.

lies. The nearest approach to a justification of it is in line 15, where he is described as

κέρως ἰσχυρὸς καὶ βίαιος πλάων.

but this cannot fairly be taken as indicating more than conformity with the command of the Moiræ to ascertain whether anyone was willing to die in his place.

plot, and here again I venture to suggest that before proposing any other motives for her decision we should face the plain text of the play and see what Euripides thought her motive was.

The occasions for such a revelation of motive are two: the Dying Speech of Alcestis herself (280-325), and the Maid's Narrative (in lines 152-198). As the Maid may have been mistaken, the former is clearly the more authentic, and shall be considered first. It must, of course, be considered in its full context. Alcestis has been brought out of the palace, and is seen to be dying. The observations of the Chorus deal with a well-worn theme: all marriage is a lottery. They speak of widowhood, but assume also that widowhood is intolerable (lines 240-3):

ὅστις ἀρίστη
ἀπλακῶν ἀλόχου τῆσδ' ἀβιώτου
τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον βιωτέσσει.

Admetus' grief makes him at first merely unreasonable (lines 245-6):

ὅρᾳ σε κἀμέ, δύο κακῶς πεπραγόντας,
οὐδὲν θεοὺς δρᾶσαντας ἀνθ' ὅτου θανεῖ.

'What have we done to the gods that they should treat us so?'

The first words of Alcestis also are irrelevant to the main issue: they express a purely physical clinging to life (lines 248-9). Admetus, therefore, will not give up hope yet (lines 250-1):

ἔπαυε στυγὴν, ὦ τάλαινα, μὴ προδῶς·
λίσσω δὲ τοὺς κρατοῦντας οἰκτεῖραι θεοὺς.²

But the horror of death is upon Alcestis now, and she implicitly rejects Admetus' encouragement: 'things have gone too far now.'

Admetus now gives up hope, and begins a quite conventional, and at the same time quite natural, farewell: and it is at this point that he makes the first mention of the children, who, as he now admits, are in the same sorrow as himself (lines 264-5):

οἰκτρὰν φιλαίσι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μάλιστα ἐμοί
καὶ παῖσιν, οἷς δὴ πένθος ἐν κοινῷ τόδε.

At the mention of the children Alcestis fairly breaks down (lines 270 ff.) and Admetus responds (273 ff.)

Up to this point we are merely face to face with the fact of death, devoid of complications, except the bare mention of the children, natural enough, but premonitory too as we shall see. It is only when the bitterness of death has passed, when, in the popular metaphor, she is 'in the boat,' that Alcestis can call up her last strength to reason with Admetus on the matter which is upon her mind.

² Or, as a modern Greek would put it, φορᾶν καὶ μέναι· ὁ θεὸς μάλ' ἐστ'.

Then comes Alcestis' last will and testament (280 ff.). The opening lines, in terribly simple diction, emphasize the solemnity of the occasion (lines 280-1):

Ἀδμητ', ὅπως γὰρ τὰ μὰ πρᾶγμαθ' ὥς ἔχει.
λέξαι θέλω σοι πρὶν θανεῖν ἃ βούλομαι.

Then she comes to the point (lines 288-9) which we may paraphrase thus:—
'If I did not die, you would have had to do so, and then I could have married any of the princes of Thessaly. This, in fact, is what any ordinary woman would have done, and would have had to do if she had children to provide for, as I have' (line 288):

ξὺν παισὶν ὀρφανοῖσιν.

'and especially if she were still, as I am, in the prime of life.

οὐδ' ἐφεισάμην,
ἤδη γ' ἔχονσα δῶρ' ἐν οἷς ἐτερπόμην.

What, then, would Alcestis have done? for the implication is that she is not an 'ordinary' woman.

But, first, there is a side issue to be dealt with. 'Whether I am an ordinary woman or not, I should not have had to do this thing at all, if only Admetus' parents had been ordinary people with an only son threatened with death.' The implication is here again, that it is the children who make the difference. 'It is only because (she means) I have borne these children to Admetus that the old folks are able to take this advantage of me. If he had been unmarried, or still childless there could have been no question. Phereus *must* have offered himself, if only to secure his own well-being in the other world by leaving someone on this side to perpetuate the family, and thereby maintain the cult of the ancestors.' Note, in passing, that Alcestis herself takes precisely the same view as Admetus and the 'ordinary' persons in the play, of Phereus' indecency and cowardice. If we blame Admetus for this view, Alcestis herself is in the same condemnation.

These, however, are bygones. It is no use to go into reasons. Some god has done it (line 298):

θεῶν τις ἐξέπραξεν ὡςθ' οὕτως ἔχει.

one of those tiresome gods who are always doing unintelligible and aggravating things. Our part it is, to look to the future (line 299):

εἰεν· σὺ γὰρ μοι τόμῳ ἀπόμνησαι χάριν.

And now come the terms of her last request. It is a very great request, and she must prepare the way for it elaborately. 'It is a very big thing,' she says, 'that I am about to ask of you, Admetus; almost as big as what I am doing for you.' She agrees, in fact, with the Chorus that (lines 240-2):

ὅστις ἀρίστης
ἀπλᾶς ἀλόχου τῆσδ' ἀδίστου
τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον βιοτεύσει.

'If you are a normal man' (*εἴπερ εὖ φρονεῖς*, line 303), 'your love for the children is as great as mine; and if that is so, this is what you will do.' Now, why is there need for all this preparation if the request itself was not regarded by Euripides as a quite abnormal one, and if it would not be so regarded also by the first audience of the *Alkestis*. Our impression that it really is abnormal is confirmed conclusively at the end of the speech. Admetus clearly is not ready to grant her request right off; else why does the Chorus intervene with the consoling assurance that of course he will do so, accidents (of course) apart? (As Elmsley, I think, was the first to point out, the phrase *ἔνπερ μὴ φρονῶν ἀμαρτάνῃ*, in line 327, refers, not to his present mood, but to the possibility, which cannot be ignored, that accidents may happen at a later stage.) The request indeed is one which, even if granted now, may turn out to be a very hard one to realise, in after time.

Returning now to the substance of the request itself, we have only to note first that it concerns not Admetus but the children exclusively, and that it is clearly a provision for the children, which Alkestis regards as the only possible consolation for her self-sacrifice. From beginning to end of the speech, there is no hint that she has any other motive than the welfare of the children. *In no sense is she dying to win her husband*; only to substitute a widowed father for a widowed mother as the guardian of the next generation. Without this assurance, in the interest of the children, she may even risk losing what her self-sacrifice is planned to secure.

Admetus' reply (328 ff.) shows that he is totally taken aback by her request. After what the Chorus has said, he cannot but humour her, as anyone would wish to humour a last wish, however unusual, but he will not carry humouring so far as to suppress all protest. If he does what she asks, it will be in the face of custom and public opinion. What, in fact, will he say to the candidates for the vacancy created by Alkestis' death? Well, this, at all events, he *can* say, that after what Alkestis has done, no other woman in Thessaly is either so well born or so good-looking as to pass muster. Cold comfort for a dying wife: complete inability (we have been prepared for this) to follow Alkestis' train of thought; above all, not a word as yet about the children. The children, however, have their turn; yet when he deals with them, it is from his point of view, not hers. On second thoughts (line 334):

ἀλλ' οἱ παῖδες τῶνδ' ὄνησιν εὐχόμεναι
θεοῖς γενέσθαι.

there can be no objection in principle to what Alkestis asks, since he has children already. He does not, in that sense, *need* to marry again. But he lets fall words (lines 335-6):

σοῦ γὰρ οὐκ ὠνήμεθα.
οἶσω δὲ πένθος οὐκ ἐτήσιον τὸ σόν.

which show that in the 'ordinary' way he would have insured like anyone else for a year, and then—what? On still further consideration, again, the

proposed arrangement may not be so impossible; the natural emotions of the ordinary man can be given other channels of expression: 'if I cannot love, I can at all events hate, and I shall solace my widowhood by hating my father and mother, and all fair-weather friends' (lines 338-9):

στυγῶν μὲν ἢ μ' ἔτι κτεν, ἐχθαίρων δ' ἐμὸν
πατέρα: λόγῳ γὰρ ἦσαι οὐκ ἔργῳ φίλοι.

But even now, in spite of her silence on this point, he does not see that it is for anything or anybody but himself that she is dying (lines 340-1):

σὺ δ' ἀντιδούσα τῆς ἐφ' ἡς τὰ φίλτατα
ψυχῆς ἔσωσας. ἄρα μοι στένειν πέρα;

'just wait and see me in mourning for you when you are dead; I shall be a model widower.' The rest of this speech consists wholly of variations of this theme, sufficiently appalling to modern taste, ending with commonplaces about an eventual cottage in Elysium. But not another word about the children. And as for himself, it is she who has been loyal to him: τῆς μνηστῆς πιστῆς ἐμῷ; that is the ground of his consent to be loyal still to her. The Chorus (369-370), though they urged consent at first, are as much puzzled as Admetus, they applaud faintly; they see his point; they approve his widower's devotion; they clearly will not omit to call on the cottagers in Elysium. Admetus, in a very difficult situation, has done the respectable thing, at considerable sacrifice to himself and to current ideas.

In these few lines the talk has become rather irrelevant, but in 371 Alcestis recalls the conversation to her point. She turns to the children and explains to them in simple language what she has gained, adding however, a further point which marks a distinct advance (372-3):

πατὴρ λέγοντος μὴ γαρεῖν ἄλλῃ ποτὶ
γυναῖκ' ἐφ' ὑμῖν, μηδ' ἀτιμάσκειν ἐμὴν.

'your father will not give you a stepmother, and it is for my sake that he will do this.' But it was not for her own sake that she had asked him to do it, but for the sake of the children, and Admetus had made no mention at all of the children's interest in his reply. What Alcestis seems to be trying to say is this: 'he will not give you a stepmother; but it is for my sake (on a point of honour) that he agrees to this, not for yours, though it was for your sake (not on the point of honour) that I asked him. He does not see my argument, but let that pass; for whatever reason, to avoid dishonour to me, he has conceded it.'

This new point, however, Admetus takes up with eagerness as something at last which he can understand, and in his next words he admits her re-statement of the case as a new one, and conclusive (line 374):

καὶ εἴν γε φημι, καὶ τελευτήσω τάδε.

'I did not understand what you said before,' he says; 'it was just the kind of talk a dying person might use. Now, however, you have put the matter

on the common ground of decency to yourself personally; and if you put it that way, why of course I have no choice.' The appeal to his reason had fallen upon deaf ears: the appeal to his code of honour touches and convinces him at once.

The next line adds a grim touch (line 375):

ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ παιδῶν χειρὶν ἐξ ἐμῆς δέχου.

Now, and not till now, can Alcestis make her last will and testament, and bequeath to him the children, since now, and not till now, in her view, has he qualified himself to be their trustee. But the scene is laid in Greek society, in a patriarchal household where φύσει ἀρχικὸς πατὴρ υἱῶν, and the mother has no legal right over her children at all. Alcestis is clearly presented as 'fey': she is talking wild. Only a person who was 'fey' would have dreamt of such a preposterous idea, and Admetus, taken aback once more, receives them with a platitude, almost a sarcasm (line 376):

δέχομαι, φίλον γε δῶρον ἐκ φιλῆς χειρός.

Alcestis continues to take the matter solemnly. She begs him, their father, to be a mother to them—another palpable absurdity. With stupid surprise Admetus answers (in line 378):

πολλή γ' ἀνάγκη, σοῦ γ' ἀπεσπηρεμένους.

'As they have not got you, I suppose I must.' This closes the business interview. As her last cry shows (line 379):

ὦ τέκν', ὅτε ζῆν χρὴν μ', ἀπέρχομαι κάτω.

it is a *pis aller* that Alcestis has arranged; but it is better than nothing.

We turn now to the Maid's Narrative earlier in the Play. This passage is obviously of less authority than Alcestis' own speech, for Euripides may have meant the Maid to be mistaken⁴; but it is the only other direct statement of her motive in the Play, and deserves to be considered carefully. That Euripides *did* mean to mislead us through the Maid's words is, in the first place, most improbable as a matter of dramatic workmanship, and, secondly, almost inconceivable when we take the speech in its context: for it is a confidence, a secret, overheard by the Maid and retailed as servants' talk. It is intended to reveal Alcestis as no other device could reveal her. Four points are clear. In the first place, Alcestis, queen and brave woman that she is, is in no fear of death. Secondly, her prayer to the Goddess is not for herself at all, nor is there a word in it about her husband: it is wholly for the children (lines 163-166):

δέσποινα, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔρχομαι κατὰ χθονός,
πανόστειτόν σε προσπίπτουσ' αἰτήσομαι,
τέκν' ὀρφανεύσαι τάμει, καὶ τῷ μὲν φίλῳ
σύζευξον ἄλοχον, τῇ δὲ γενναίῳ πόσει.

⁴ Though this is commonly assumed by commentators, probably because the Maid's Narrative, if true, is fatal to their theories of Euripides' meaning.

exactly the same position as she takes up in her dying speech. Thirdly, the only hint of personal regret is implied in the last words of her prayer that the children's lives might not be curtailed like hers. She regrets, as was only natural, that she will not herself have the good time that as a normal person she might have expected; yet here, too, there is no mention of her husband. Fourthly, only one thing troubles her, and that is a thing so intimate that it is only through the indiscretion of the Maid that we, or anyone else, have word of it at all. Both before and after she is calm, dignified, self-contained; only in her own room does she break down and show her real self. To die in Admetus' place was the only way for her to avoid something which for her was intolerably worse. To survive Admetus at all—if he should die while he and she are in the prime of life—involved inevitable betrayal of her marriage vow, as she understood it. But in Greek thought, the marriage vow had no sanction after the death of either of the parties. Alcestis' point of view is new, surprising, quite incomprehensible to the Maid (line 157):

ὃ δ' ἐν δόμοις ἔδρασε θανυμένης εἶδεν

and in the highest degree revolutionary. If either Admetus or Alcestis must die, Greek society and manners being what they are, Alcestis' theory of matrimony offers no choice but to be the first victim. What Admetus may think or do after she has gone, though by no means negligible, is another and a subordinate affair. In her own room, Alcestis is alone, thinking her own thoughts, thinking now and now only (in the plain sense of the words) *for herself*; and her thoughts there, at all events, as interpreted by the Maid's Narrative, are in complete conformity, so far as they go, with what she says to Admetus in her dying speech. The only point of difference is that at this earlier stage she has not yet thought out, or at all events does not give expression to, the corollary—what ought Admetus to do?—which she formulates eventually in her request to him. And that request, as we now see, I think, virtually comes to this: that he also will conform to her theory of matrimony—so far, at least, as not to marry again.

This slight contrast, not in principle but in the degree to which the principle has been worked out, is noteworthy as independent support for a criticism which many readers of the *Alcestis* have been inclined to pass upon Dr. Verrall's objections to the hurried action of the plot. Dr. Verrall, as we remember, builds a very elaborate super-structure on the single observation that Alcestis' death and burial are so hurried and imperfect as to be out of accord with Greek funeral practice. But in this view, he appears to have made very insufficient allowance for two considerations, both important, though of unequal dramatic value. As a matter of mere stagecraft, if Alcestis is to fall ill, die, be buried, and be restored from the tomb within the limits of a 1500-line play (and the *Alcestis* is rather below the average of length) some compression and elimination of non-essentials was inevitable. In the *Agamemnon*, similarly, there is clearly not enough time between Agamemnon's entry into the palace (line 975) and his murder

(line 1343) for him to have had his bath and eaten a good dinner, as Aeschylus seems to assume. Are we to infer that Aeschylus threw doubts on the reality of hunger?

This, however, is a matter of pure form. It does not touch the plot of the *Alcestis*. What *does* concern the plot intimately is what the Maid's Narrative indicates quite clearly (in lines 157-9):

ἂ δ' ἐν δόμοις ἔδρασε θαυμάσει κλύων.
ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦσθεθ' ἡμέραν τὴν κυρίαν
ἤκουσαν, ὕδασι ποταμίους λευκὸν χροῖα
ἐλούσατ', κ.τ.λ.

Death days are not like birthdays; they only come once, and unannounced. Nobody knows, beforehand, the day on which the Moirae have decreed that any human being shall die. That is their secret. When the day comes, the Moirae warn Thanatos to be ready, and the symptoms of death appear in the victim. The first human intimation that the death-day of Admetus had come—for the Prologue is witnessed by no human eye—was when Alcestis was 'taken ill' in the course of the morning. Apollo himself had no warning that he would have to leave Admetus' house to avoid pollution until, with the rest of the household, he saw Alcestis' strength ebbing. It is a simple fact of observation that healthy people doomed to sudden death do not know beforehand that they are just going to die, and it is by seizing this fact that Euripides has at the same time made it possible as a matter of stagecraft to condense the traditional narrative into the limits of an Attic drama, and as a matter of invention to present within these limits of time the development of character and conduct which is essential to a dramatic problem.

One other point should be noted; if we are to judge truly the position of Alcestis, and the problem which Euripides proposes to discuss, Apollo's bargain with the Moirae, and Alcestis' resolve, are ancient history, and common knowledge. This is clear from Herakles' open reference to them (in line 524):

οἷδ' ἀντὶ σοῦ γε κατθανεῖν ὑφειμένην.

From the same line it is clear also that to 'ordinary' people—and the whole handling of Herakles shows that Euripides is using him as the type of the ordinary man's intelligence—to ordinary people there was not, at the time when the resolve was made, any grave difference between what we call the 'expectation of life' of Alcestis and that of Admetus. Each, by their own admission, is in the prime of life, at the moment of the catastrophe; they are just an ordinary well-matched couple; and (accidents apart) their chances of procreance were as nearly equal as possible. Unless we recognise and admit this, we lose a large element of tragedy. Once again, in the words of the Chorus (1161):

καὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ' οὐκ ἐτελέσθη.

It is no injustice to Alcestis if we infer that when she made her resolve, she did not in fact take any extraordinary risk. That a young married man, or for that matter a young married woman, is likely to die young is the last thing that enters the head of either, or of bystanders if they too are normal, healthy-minded persons.

That Alcestis' 'expectation of life,' as we say, was a good one is clear from other words of Herakles. When he hears that someone in the house is dead, his thought is first for the children. It is hardly possible that child-life in the Mediterranean was less precarious in antiquity than it is in Greek villages now, and Herakles' ejaculation (line 514):

ἀπ' οὗν τέκνων σὸν πημονὴν εἶργος θεός

is exactly the *và sou* *Σὶς*! of Rumanian speech. Only when he is reassured about the children, does he enquire secondly for the parents who, as he says, are 'ripe' (line 516):

πατήρ γε μὴν ὠραίος, εἴπερ οἶχεται.

The *γε* shows that to a mere acquaintance like Herakles the mother's 'expectation' is obscure; in Phœne as among ourselves many women were of 'uncertain age.' Only in the third place does he ask after the wife (line 518):

οὐ μὴν γυνή γ' ὄλωλεν Ἀλκαστις σέθεν;

and he does so in words where, as the grammar books say, 'the form of the question expects the answer No.' Alcestis being of the age that she is, and Admetus apparently in his usual health, the 'risk' to Alcestis is still for an 'ordinary' person like Herakles, inconsiderable, even though he knows quite well about her destiny.

I lay stress on this bit of 'background' as evidence that Euripides has been careful to present us with a perfectly normal situation, with a quite ordinary Greek family in which the parents have essentially the same expectation of life. Only on this presupposition can he put fairly and squarely before us the problem which I venture to suggest that he mainly intends to put in this play: 'Supposing that one or other parent has to go, which can be best spared?' Which is, in fact, the 'better half' more self-sufficient in default of a partner, above all more indispensable to the children? And if so, why? and is it rightly so? On this point, Alcestis has no hesitation at all: nor in all probability had nine out of ten of the first spectators of this play. The prospect on either side, is clear in outline. Neither survivor, as far as personal convenience was concerned, stood to suffer very heavily, in the long run, and as the 'ordinary person' counts suffering. Both Alcestis and Admetus know quite well that the 'ordinary' survivor of a short-fated marriage marries again. This was the probability even in ordinary life; and in high places the probability became a certainty. Look first at Alcestis' lament, in the *Mail's Narrative*; 'it is not that I regret my marriage with Admetus, but, if he dies now, and I live, I must marry again.' This forecast she repeats with brutal frankness at the opening of her dying speech. There

will be competitors all over Thessaly for the hand of the Widow of Phæacæ. The 'only way' for her to escape this fate is to take her husband's place and die first. In that case, it will be for him to marry again, and of course he will do so. Clearly at this stage, as I have hinted already, she has not yet reached the partial solution of her tragedy which she propounds in her dying speech.

Admetus' words entirely agree with this: his reply to Alcestis, as we have seen (328 ff.), is made up of excuses to candidates for the vacancy, and forecasts of his own plans for mitigating that aggravated form of widowerhood to which Alcestis is consigning him.

But there is a profound difference between the fates of widower and widow; and it is here that I think we find Euripides most obviously about his characteristic business of 'making people think.' On all this ground, and not least as applied to the *Alcestis* the criticism of Aristophanes is eminently fair:

ὀρθῶς μ' ἐλέγχειν ὧν ἂν ἄπτομαι λόγων.—*Ar. Ran.* 894.
 λογισμὸν ἐνθεῖν τῇ τέχνῃ,
 καὶ σκέψιν, ὥστ' ἤδη νοεῖν
 ἅπαντα καὶ διαιδῆναι
 τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ τὰς οἰκίας
 οἰκεῖν ἁμεινὸν ἢ πρὸ τοῦ,
 κάνασκοπεῖν, πῶς ταῦτ' ἔχει.—*Ibid.* 973-8.

His method, and the mode of thought to which he is to bring his public is:

νοεῖν, ὁρᾶν, ξυνέειναι, στρέφειν, ἱρᾶν, τεχνάζειν,
 κάχ' ὑποτοπίσθαι, περινοεῖν ἅπαντα.
 οἰκία πρῶγματ' εἰσάγων, οἷς χρώμεθ', οἷς ξυνέειμεν.—*Ran.* 957-9.

What Euripides represented then, at least to Aristophanes, was a drama of social reform: and in all social reform the *πρῶτον κύμα*, as Plato found, is the traditional inequality of the sexes. In contrast with India, the Greek widow is not outside society; but her place in society is very different from that of the widower. He at all events *can* remain single if he *will*; at all events, if he has ἄλις παῖδων (334) as Admetus has. The widow of a man as young as Admetus, ἥβης ἔχουσα δῶρα (289) has no such freedom. In Greek society, the only safety for the *femine soul* is to find other coverture. Spectators of the *Alcestis* know the *Odyssey* by heart, and in this respect their social code had not changed since the *Odyssey* came into being.

This unequal lot—the proverbial lot of 'the fatherless and the widow' in all patriarchal societies—affects Alcestis in two ways. First and foremost, there is the fate of the children. In patriarchal society the children belong to the father, or, in default, to the father's family. But we hear of no brothers to Admetus; in this respect, as in others, Euripides has isolated and typified his social unit, the man-ruled household, by eliminating separable accidents, and 'making people think' about the bare framework of a Hellenic *oikia*. But if Alcestis had been left, as in Attic law she would

thus have been left, Admetus' heir and trustee of his children, what was the prospect for them when that Thessalian baron came for her, *καὶ δῶμ' ἐταίον ἄλβιον τυραννίδι*? The answer is a commonplace of Greek tragedy, and of the Attic courts. On the other side of the family, though her father is dead, Alcestis has a brother living; but the 'ordinary' brother has his own interests to watch, as well as his sister's; by the time both these are secured, there is not much left for her children. The wicked uncle stands side by side with the step-father in the dramatic and the social pillory. Compare again the advice which Mentès gives to Telemachus in the *Odyssey*, and the fate for Penelope if she returns, as he suggests, to her own people:

ἂψ ἴτω ἐς μέγαρον πατρός μέγα δυναμένοιο
οἱ δὲ γάμον τεύξουσιν καὶ ἄρτυρέουσιν ἑδνα
πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσα ἔσκει φίλης ἐπὶ παιδὸς ἐπεσθαι.—*Od.* i. 276-8.

Thus, on all counts but one, it is better for Alcestis to go, if thereby Admetus can stay; and that one count is of a piece with the rest. Once again it is the rôle of Euripides to 'make the wife and the maiden to speak out.'

ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ τῶν πρίστων ἐπὶ τὸν οὐδὲν παρῆκ' ὄν ἄρτιον,
ἀλλ' ἔλεγεν ἡ γυνὴ τέ μοι χῶ δοῦλος οὐδὲν ἦπτον,
χῶ δεσπότης χῆ παρθένος χῆ γραῦς ἄν.—*Ran.* 948-50.

For Admetus and for Eumelus, it is better for Alcestis to go; but what about the girl? We have only to look forward to Admetus' own confession (1049) of the inner state of a household which has lost its mistress: it is no longer any place for a lady. If she has her father's good-will and a good nurse, like the nurses of Medea or Phaedra, the girl may with luck pull through; but with a step-mother to poison her father's ear, what chance has she?

This is the ground—and, until the end, the only ground—of Alcestis' appeal to Admetus not to marry again. A successor to herself she will tolerate; indeed, she knows society, and Admetus, too well not to expect one. She is not there to diminish his freedom, any more than she is there to 'save his life' in the vulgar sense. She knows it is a hard, almost impossible, thing that she is asking; it is only because now, in the act of dying, she knows (as who knows otherwise?) how great is her sacrifice, her personal gift of life to him, that she ventures even to ask it at all.

But this is not quite all. Only in two short phrases does Euripides even hint at an aspect of the matter which for modern sentiment is fundamental. In the Maid's Narrative, already analysed (179-180), the point where Alcestis' fortitude gives way is not at her prayer for the children, but at the surrender of her wifehood. For her married life she has no hard thought. Tragic as it has been for her, it has at least brought disaster to no one but herself; and it has only brought it to her because, for her, remarriage would have been intolerable betrayal of her troth to Admetus.

προδοῦναι γὰρ σ' ἔκευσα καὶ πῶσαι

θνήσκω.

But we have seen already that re-marriage, among Greeks, as among Sadducean Hellenizers, was no betrayal, once the first partner was dead. The only shadow of blame which Menetes imputes to Penelope is that she ought to have made quite sure about Odysseus' death before allowing suitors in the house. It is the grass-widow, not the relict, who imperils her reputation.

If Alcestis thought otherwise, as apparently Euripides represents her as thinking, it was a revolution in manners, however obvious her thought may appear to most of us now. An 'ordinary' Greek woman did not marry for love; she was given in marriage, with (or in exchange for) cattle or other wealth, as a business transaction between male trustees for her welfare, past and future, her father and her husband. It is only the dramatic indiscretion of a chambermaid that lets us into the heart of Alcestis; for Euripides has let a woman have a heart. That he let a slave have a heart, too, was hardly a more striking achievement; at least, so his chief critic would have us think:

ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἐπῶν οὐδὲν παρήκ' ἂν ἄργον,
ἀλλ' ἔλεγεν ἡ γυνὴ τέ μοι χῶ δούλος οὐδὲν ἥττον.

But this is not for the public gaze. When she can bring herself to leave her own room, she is the doomed Queen once more, with grave sympathy (and no more) for the children, and a kind word (and no less) for the meanest.

Only twice again is any word of this kind let fall: once, in a mere turn of phrase in her long speech (where ἀποσπασθῆσα σοῦ (287) replaces, as indeed metre compelled, the more obvious ἀποσπασθέντος); and then, at the end, when she explains to the children their father's promise, μηδ' ἀτιμῶσιν ἐμὲ (373). It is this last phrase, by the way, which alone strikes any fervour of response from Admetus, as we have seen. This at all events, he has heard of before, and can understand. But this is proper pride, not love; in public (for she is in public now) Alcestis can go no further than ἀτιμία, which is as ineffective a rendering of what she means, though in another direction, as the colourless φιλία of the Chorus.

Only in such tentative allusions, and in the tattle of the backstairs, does Euripides, the woman-hater, give us ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἐπῶν a first glimpse of Love stronger than Death, a notion otherwise modern or barbaric; for as he says to Aeschylus in the *Frogs*, 1045:

μὴ Δεῦ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τῆς Αφροδίτης οὐδὲν σοι.¹

¹ We are reminded once again of his final boast in the *Frogs*:

ταῦτά μ' ἐνταῦθα φρονεῖ
ταῦτά μιν εὐαγγέλιον,
λογισαίτε ἐνθάδε τῷ τέλει
καὶ σέβει, δεῦρ' ἔβη σοὶ

ἔπαυσε καὶ δουλεία·
τά τ' ἔβλαψεν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας
αἰεὶ δούλους ἢ πρὸ τοῦ,
αἰεὶ δουλοῦν, οὐδὲ τολῶ' ἔχει.

Frogs, 971

III.—*The Probation of Admetus.*

ἢ γλώττ' ὁμώμοκε. But will Admetus keep his promise? And what will happen if he does? How will Alcestis' new theory of Sacramental Marriage work out in practice? We in the audience know that 'in the story' Alcestis *will* come back. But in what form is Euripides about to recast that story, so that Alcestis *must* come back, so that this shall be the only *dénouement* that is dramatically possible? We also know, from Apollo's threat to Thanatos (65-69), that she will be restored, not by grace of Kore, which was the alternative tradition, but by the intervention of Herakles. How is Euripides to weave this second modification into the story?

Admetus must either keep his promise or break it. If he breaks it, on what terms can he possibly resume married life with Alcestis, as we know that he will have to do? ὁ γὰρ λόγος οὕτως αἰρείετ. The views of Euripides about the *ménage à trois* we, unlike the first audience of the *Alcestis*, are privileged to know from his subsequent *Medea*. Its possibility depends upon the consent of the primary wife:

χοῖν σ', εἴπερ ᾔσθη μὴ κακός, πείσαντά με
γαμεῖν γάμον τόνδ', ἀλλὰ μὴ σιγῇ φίλον.—*Medea*, 586-7.

But Alcestis has already dissented. She has given 'reason of state, which Admetus has accepted; and from the Maid's Narrative we know that she had another reason as well, more personal, more intimate. But *can* Admetus keep his promise, ἀνθρώπος ὢν? In this question, two problems are really combined. First, is Alcestis' theory of the indissolubility of marriage practicable at all, without radical reconstruction of society? and second, even if it is, is Admetus the man to put it into practice? The latter is the larger issue, but the first step in the proof is to show us the real Admetus. Then, when we know what manner of man he is, he can be put to the test; and in the trial it will be clear enough, no doubt, how much reconstruction of society Alcestis' new theory will involve.

First, then, Euripides is to show us the real Admetus. He does this in characteristic fashion:

οἰκεία πράγματ' εἰσάγων, αἷε χροῖμ' ὅς, αἷε ξυνεσμεν,
ἐξ ὧν γ' ἂν ἐξηλεγχόμεν· ξυνειδότες γὰρ οὔτοι
ἡλεγχον ἂν μόν τῇ τεχνῇ.

The appeal is, in fact, to the audience. Admetus is to be a man of like passions with us; he that is without sin among us shall cast the first stone, if he fails:

εἴπειτα τούτους ἰδεῖν ἐβίδαξα.

How would *you*, and *you*, and *you*, in the audience, have performed your vow, if *you*, not Admetus, had been Alcestis' widower?

Three preliminary tests are applied, and from the first of them Admetus issues, as we shall see, just the autochthonous Athenian whom we already suspect him to be, and whom Euripides must needs make him, if his

probation is to make us *voeiv, ôpân, ξυνιέναι*; when we come, with him, to the later ordeals. This first test, a conflict between personal affliction and the duty of hospitality, Admetus passes easily enough, at least to modern ideas. It is not so clear to me that to a Greek audience the heroism of Admetus, in the first scene with Herakles, was so moderate a quality as it seems to us. What an 'ordinary' Greek thought about it, we are to judge by what Herakles thinks, and says, when he learns what Admetus has done for him, and by the supreme reparation which he offers; for it is in proportion as his intrusion was unpardonable, that Admetus acquires merit by his just handling of it. But while he acquires merit, it is nevertheless at the expense of all hope of ours that he will ever do anything striking or original; least of all, anything inconsistent with the Code. It was only by an appeal to the Code, we must remember—*μὴδ' ἀτιμᾶζειν ἐπέ*—that Alcestis wrung from him more than toleration for what seemed merely her dying whim. That a man should behave to a modern Herakles 'like an English gentleman' would not compel us to expect of him any work of genius, when he meets his Deceased Wife's Sister! No test of merit would have been offered by any version of the story which did *not* bring in some real *enfant terrible*; and in this aspect the scene seems to me neither 'mechanically useless' nor so 'aesthetically repulsive' as it seemed, for example, to Dr. Verrall.

From this first test, then, Admetus and his Code alike issue triumphant. The second test is more subtle. Some men's charity does not begin at home; it ends there. Enough has been said in the prologue and elsewhere already, to rouse curiosity about Pheres, the old man, ripe for death, who did not want to die. He was certain to come to the funeral—do not all skeletons leave their cupboards for a funeral?—and the Chorus announces his arrival without comment, *οἰκεία πράγματα εἰσάγων, οἷς χρώμεθ', οἷς ξυνεσμεν*. We are left quite without indication how Admetus will treat him. Pheres' view of the matter at least justifies his presence. Alcestis has put him, no less than Admetus, under an obligation; for if she had not replaced him, Admetus must have died, and this, while bad for Admetus, would have been (if anything) worse for Pheres. He has no word of apology even now; no hint that any other way had been closed, or ever open. Dr. Verrall did not think that there was any other way, and held the interview between Admetus and Pheres 'useless to the conduct of the story' and 'repugnant to the solemnity of the topic'; so did poor old Pheres, and so, with reserves, does the Chorus.

But is this so? Doddering old men are a tempting mark for sarcasm at all times. In the Periclean Age, they had been taught their place; and there can have been few genuine Marathonomachai alive in 438 B.C. For the next generation we have the opening chorus of the *Wasps*, and the treatment of Strepsimdes when Pheidippides has learned:

*voeiv, ôpân, ξυνιέναι, στρέφειν, ἐρᾶν, τεχνάζειν,
κάχ' ὑποτοπείσθαι, περινοεῖν ἅπαντα,*

for Euripides kept school next door to the Phrontisterion. Briefly, Euripides is once more at his own trade:

οἰκεία πράγματ' εἰσάγων, οἷς χροώμεθ', οἷς ζήνομεν,
ἐξ ὧν γ' ἂν ἐξηλεγχόμεν.

On his honour as an Athenian and a man of spirit and intelligence, would any father's son in the audience have acted otherwise than Admetus, under similar provocation? And could any father's son in the audience remember *his* father offering any prospect that he would act otherwise than Pheres, either when exposed to abuse, or when the chance of sacrifice was his?

Yet the Code was nowhere more explicit than where it was said by them of old time 'Honour thy Father and thy Mother; and he that curseth Father or Mother, let him die the death.' If Admetus is acquitted here, it is at the expense of the Code, as well as of Pheres: and it is the new commandment that has set him free. 'For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife.' *ἀθνεῖος, ἄλλως δ' ἢ ἀναγκαῖος δόμοιο* (533). There is a fine play here on the double meaning of *ἀναγκαῖος*. Not here alone, as we know, has Euripides anticipated teaching which is a cornerstone of modern society. Under the old dispensation, we must remember also, it was the wife who left her father and mother and cleave unto her husband.

From the second test, then, Admetus emerges, once more, just an ordinary man. But at what a cost to the Code! The revolution proclaimed by Alcestis works apace. Admetus, draggled and hot, but clearly represented as the winner in a nearly even encounter, is a sorry convert; but a recruit he is none the less, to the cause which Euripides pleads, the cause which its enemies called indifferently 'feminist' and 'woman-hating.' And on the whole he carries the sympathies of the audience with him. The Chorus is sorry for the scandal, but has no word of blame for the sentiments themselves:

κάπετα ταυτοισὶ λαλεῖν ἐδίδοξα . . .
. . . ζυγεῖσθαι γὰρ οὗτοι.

I do not find them clamorous that Admetus shall 'die the death,' and from 'ordinary' persons, this was perhaps as much as was to be expected.

The impression grows, however, that Admetus will not have an easy time. Pheres is not likely to keep his views about 'murder' to himself; if Acastus, who is Alcestis' brother and next-of-kin, takes them seriously, Admetus may have to look round for allies; and alliance in early Thessaly, as in mediaeval Europe, was commonly sanctioned by matrimony. It was the same in contemporary Thrace (Thuc. ii. 101, 5, *καὶ τὸν Σεύθην ἐκρύφα Περδίκας ὑποσχόμενος ἀδελφὴν ἑαυτοῦ δώσειν καὶ χρήματα ἐπ' αὐτῇ προσποιεῖται*); in the Thessaly of Jason of Pherae; and in the Macedonia of Philip and Alexander. And meanwhile Admetus' acceptance of Alcestis' theory of marriage has tied his diplomatic right hand behind his back.

The third test of Admetus is in the scene where he returns from the tomb, and from this scene, which need not detain us long, several points

emerge. First, bad as the prospect had seemed before Alcestis' death, it was nothing to the reality. Happy are the dead: what profit is there any longer in life (861-871)?

Second, in rather grim irony, he couples with husbands who lose their wives, the parents who lose their children. It is a tacit apology to Phereus, who would have been where Admetus is now, had not Alcestis done as she did. It is also Admetus' first spontaneous recognition that upon himself falls now the care of his children. And what a care is that. What if Eumelus were to die now?

Third, very gently is sounded the motif of a mutual loyalty between husband and wife (lines 900-2):

δύο δ' ἀντὶ μιᾶς ἁΐδης ψυχᾶς
τὰς πιστοτάτας ξὺν ἂν ἔσχευ, ὁμοῦ
χθονίαν λίμνην διαβάντε.

With *πιστοτάτας* now in the plural—it has always been in the feminine singular before,—what would have been *πρόδοσις* in Alcestis if she had lived, will be *πρόδοσις* in Admetus too. He begins to see that now; and his next stave (910-925) recalls their married happiness; how he went *φιλίας ἀλόχου χεῖρα βαστάζων* and how *σύζυγες εἶμεν*. But in all this the Chorus, 'ordinary' as ever, sees nothing that is not commonplace:

ἔθαρ' ὁάμαρ, ἔλεπε φιλίαν.
τί νέον τόδε;

Sure sign in Euripides that Admetus is in fact saying something which is not commonplace at all. That his present mood is a revelation to Admetus himself seems clear from 939-40:

ἐγὼ δ', ὃν οὐ χρεὶν ζῆν, παρὲς τὸ μόρσιμον,
λιπρὸν διάξω βίον· ἄρτι· μαρθάνω.

He had never dreamed it could be at all like this. Nothing in his life now is without its reminder of Alcestis. Note that once more the mention of the children (line 947) is quite perfunctory: everything centres on the personal tie between himself and his wife. Even those other Thessalian women—the counterpart, for him, of all the possible second-husbands of Alcestis—*Θεσσαλῶν δὲ ἤθελα*—only remind him of her: they cannot console or replace.

Fourthly, there will certainly be reproaches; misunderstandings; it is true, but intolerable to him now; though he had faced them bravely enough with Phereus.

Fifthly, even here, and in spite of all, there is no word of remorse. Admetus' conscience is clear. As I hope I have shown at the outset, it is only 'bad people' who will abuse him: he knows, as Apollo has known, since the morning, that this is Fortune's work. And the Chorus forthwith agrees (965-6): *σπεῖσθαι οὐδὲν ἀνάγκας ἔσθαι*. They too know the Code.

καὶ γὰρ Ζεὺς ὃ τι νέεσθ
 ξὺν σοὶ ταῖτο τελευτᾷ.—978-9.

It is, in fact, Zeus and the Moirae who should be ashamed if anyone: but they are above such weakness.

οὐδὲ τις ἀποτόμου λήματός ἐστιν αἰδώς,
 καὶ σ' ἐν ἀφύκτοις χερσὶν εἴλε θεὰ δεσμοῖς.—983-4.

Thus we are prepared for the worst: Alcestis cannot come back; a divine and gracious power she may be—and deserves to become—but never again will she be Admetus' wife.

τόλμα δ'· ἐν γὰρ ἀνάξειν πατ' ἐνεσθαι
 κλάων τοὺς φθιμένους ἄνθρωποι.

χαῖρ', ὃ πότνι'· εὐ δὲ δοίης.

And so the capstone is set on the tomb of Alcestis: the new Admetus, model king, fond husband, blameless host, with all the ordinary Greek man's contempt for meanness, selfishness and cowardice, is launched again on life; misunderstood now by Phores, Acastus, and all 'bad men,' and liable to further misunderstanding as soon as his year's mourning is over; supported only by the cold comfort of the Code (930):

ἴθαρ δάμαρ ἔλπε φιλίαν· τί νέον τότε;

and by his promise to his wife. Is this, however, all? I have tried to suggest that it is not; that in short phrases, and turns of phrase, Euripides reveals the first throb of a new emotion in the man: involving a view of matrimony not far removed from that attributed to Alcestis herself in the Maid's Narrative.

In this fashion the scene shifts back, as we know it must, from the silent house into publicity (1006):

καὶ μὴν ὅδ' ὡς εἴκεν Ἀλκυόνης γένος,
 Ἀδμήτη, πρὸς σὴν ἐστίαν παρένεται

and the new Admetus, raw from his conversion, is on his trial. Public opinion, of which we already know him apprehensive, takes the very turn which not he, but Alcestis, had foreseen. It is not his enemies now who will think him a knave for losing his wife, but his friend who is to call him a fool for not taking another. The 'ordinary' assumption, which has haunted the whole play, that the marriage bond is loosed by death, is explicit now, with no disguise at all.

It is all of a piece with the real good-nature of Herakles that, though it is Alcestis herself whom he has brought back, he devises a mode of restoration which shall be, as people say, a 'pleasant surprise' for his friend. The last thing to occur to him is that he will cause him pain, or even embarrassment. Above all, seeing how deeply he is in Admetus' debt, after the

morning's *gaultherie*, he does not want to be thanked, and make a fuss. Dr. Verrall's criticisms of the closing lines of the play are only valid if the whole behaviour of Herakles is, as he thinks, 'useless to the conduct of the play.' Restore, however, to Herakles the function which Euripides expressly assigns to him in the Prologue, as the fore-ordained means of Alcestis' return (which return itself, as we have seen, involves the dramatic evolution of an Admetus fit to have her), and the modest exit of the deliverer explains itself to us. His entrance was not so easy for him to explain to Admetus. It had been no joke to wrestle with death, even for Herakles: the pains that he takes to excuse himself, the precise form that his invention takes, and the short-winded sentences in which he speaks, are stage direction enough. *Enter Herakles dishevelled and panting.* But Admetus must not know why. Herakles wastes no time, but, breathless and tactless, begins his tale at the end, or in the middle, or anywhere. Over-scrupulous observance of the Code (he says) has given Admetus himself quite unnecessary pain, and made things very difficult for Herakles too. How difficult, we in the audience, who know what he has had to be doing to make amends, can estimate better than Admetus. However, he has done his best. Many texts print a comma at 1017:

καὶ μέμφομαι μὲν μέμφομαι παθὼν τὰδε,

and a full stop at 1018:

οὐ μὲν σε λυπεῖν ἐν κακοῖσι βούλομαι.

Punctuation, of course, in a *staccato* passage like this, does not count for much: but I venture to suggest at all events as great a pause at τὰδε as we choose to allow at βούλομαι, and, if anything, a rather closer connexion of the βούλομαι line with what follows than with what precedes. Otherwise it would surely have been ἐν κακοῖς ἐβουλόμην. The construction (in thought) of the whole passage is this, omitting only what is irrelevant: καὶ μέμφομαι μὲν μέμφομαι παθὼν τὰδε (1017), 'I am very sorry for having given you so much pain'; οὐ μὲν σε λυπεῖν ἐν κακοῖσι βούλομαι (1018), 'and I have not come back to cause you more pain now'; ὅν δ' ὄψεσθ' ἤκω δεῖρ' ὑποστρέψας πάλιν λέξω (1019), 'this is why I have come'; γυναῖκα τήνδε μοι σώσον λαβὼν (1020), 'Will you keep this woman for me? I came by her honestly'; οὐ γὰρ κλοπαίαν; 'and she cost me much effort'; ἀλλὰ σὺ πόνον λαβὼν ἤκω (1035), 'that is why I am still so short of breath'; (1036) χρόνον δὲ καὶ σὺ μ' αἰδέσθεις ἴσως. 'It was the least return I could make to you, to put her in *your* hands. *Comprenez?* Good-bye.'

The motive, and underlying assumptions, are obvious. It hardly needs noting that we have only to write prize-horse or prize-dog, in place of prize-woman, to see how reasonable and everyday a request it was. Herakles was on special service, and travelling light. He could no more take his prize-woman to Thrace than you could take a bull-dog to the Congo. Only a foolish access of athleticism has saddled him with her at all. Will Admetus, like a good fellow, help him out of this fix? A modern Herakles, when he

attends a funeral by mistake, does not deposit a prize-woman; but it's 'just like him' to leave his clubs or a gun in the front hall, and to wire from Southampton that he will 'call for them after the war, if you've anything left of them by then.'

This is all that *need* come of the incident. But Herakles, besides being a good fellow, and happy-go-lucky, is a man of the world; he is under a recent obligation to Admetus, and his last words (l. 1036)

χρόνον δὲ καὶ σὺ μ' αἰνέσεις ἴσων

are entirely of a piece with the rest. Of course Admetus will marry again. For his own sake, if not for the children's, he will marry soon; and Herakles—happy thought!—has 'the very thing.' Between friends, there is no contract, explicit or implied. Herakles hopes he will return soon from his Thracian adventure; and Admetus will of course expect to know, also as between friends, what Herakles' own intentions are, in that event. Well, Herakles *has no intentions*. He will take the risk that when he returns Admetus may have a proposal to make. It goes without saying that if he has he must make it to Herakles. If, however, Herakles should not return, Admetus is still free to propose—to the lady. It will hardly surprise us that at this stage the Chorus has nothing to say. They scent no complications at all till 1070, when Admetus has already stated his view of the matter.

Very courteously, as ever, but very firmly, Admetus draws his friend's notice to what even Herakles must surely see is a weak point in his kind plan; and at the same time to what, for Euripides, was very clearly the crucial defect of 'ordinary family life.' Now he has his chance, with a vengeance to teach us Athenians:

τὰ τ' ἄλλα, καὶ τὰς οἰκίας
οἰκεῖν ἄμεινον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ
ἐκείνοισιν πῶς τοῦτ' ἔχει;

Read Admetus' question in 1049

τοῦ καὶ τρέφουσ' ἀν' ὀφθαλμοῖς νέα γυνή;

and what follows, in connexion with the supreme grief of Alcestis over her own daughter in 311; with the catalogue of *facts accomplished* which make up the Dictionary of Mythology; and with the customs of seclusion which in later and less violent days seemed still the only way to keep the trouble within bounds. We must remember that the private life of the heroic age, as depicted in the Tragedians, is in principle, and in a great part also of its practice, as anachronistic as the rest of the setting of Attic Tragedy. It is the private life of fifth century Athens, projected, in all innocence of antiquarian purism, into the heroic past; simplified and idealised, but essentially the same. It were poor fun for Aristophanes to parody pre-Homeric manners faithfully transmitted through the Tragedians; it is the Tragedians who drew their situations and their morals from an Attica of which Aristophanes and the Orators only show us a slightly seamier side.

This, then, is Admetus' criticism of Herakles' plan. Herakles asks him to keep the girl safe. It is in Herakles' own interest that Admetus objects: in Admetus' palace the only safety for her is in Alcestis' place; and Alcestis' place is not occupiable.

Only now can we measure the revolution that Alcestis has proposed. Under existing conditions, at Phrae, or in Athens, *ἀγαπὸς βίος ἀβίωτος*. Alcestis has deliberately withdrawn one of the 'pillars of society' and if that pillar be not replaced, down will come the whole social fabric. What is to happen next? Apart from miracles, down it must come, for only by a miracle could that pillar be put back where it was.

We in the audience, of course, know that at Phrae the miracle has happened. But do miracles happen in Attica? And if they do not, what about *our* social fabric? Euripides leaves the question open. We may fairly believe that even he could not safely do more. Few besides Euripides could have gone so far as to open it. It is, in fact, the *τρίτον κύμα* of the *Republic*, which he has brought upon us; in education, and in common life,

καὶ παῖς μὲν ἄρσεν πατέρ' ἔχει πόρνον μέγαν
σὺ δ' ὁ τέκνον μαι πῶς κορευθήσῃ καλῶς.

These are the bare facts of the situation which Alcestis has created. But two other points reinforce Admetus' criticism, and increase his reluctance to the obvious and neighbourly courtesy which Herakles asks. First, public opinion, as we know already from ll. 954-61, has begun to swing round. Admetus 'owes it' as 'ordinary' people will think, to the peculiar circumstances, to remain a widower. Second, there is the promise to his wife. This he clearly intends to observe; and if he is to observe it, there must be no half-measures (line 1061):

πολλὴν πρόνοιαν δεῖ μ' ἔχειν.

The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.

There might have been more about this; but at this point precisely Euripides has chosen to shift the scene. Admetus' eye wanders almost inadvertently to the veiled woman. The situation would have been difficult and painful in any event; this added complication, that, veiled as she is, she is the image of Alcestis, makes it impossible. Even the Chorus sees that, and Chorus-like remarks that what can't be endured, is not likely to be cured. It is a *θεοῦ ἔδος*; those gods are really very tiresome to-day; no man-made world would conceive a cruelty like this.

Admetus is now face to face with the Code, and what he will do is already clear. Without prevarication, almost without courtesy, he throws the whole Code overboard:

ἄλλον τίς' ὅστις μὴ πέπονθεν οἱ ἐγὼ
σώξω ἀνωχθεῖ Θεσσαλῶν.

'Why can't you take her somewhere else.' The rest of his speech is in justification of this breach of the Code: but he never retracts, and Herakles,

even after he has admitted in 1102 that the story of the prize-winning was a fiction, has in the end to take him at his word, and begin again on a fresh line of temptation (1104-6):

ΑΔ. καλῶς ἔλεξας· ἡ γυνὴ δ' ἀπελθέτω.

ΗΡ. ἀπεισιν, εἰ χρεὴ· πρῶτα δ' εἰ χρεὼν ἄθραι.

ΑΔ. χρεὴ· σοῦ γε μὴ μέλλοντος ὀργαίνειν ἐμοί.

Where the *χρεὴ* of course catches up not *εἰ χρεὼν* but *εἰ χρεὴ* in the line before. 'Yes, anything to please you, provided only that she goes.' By this time, however, Admetus has begun to see that he is once more the plaything of higher powers: his *εἰκα νῦν οὐ μὲν ἀνδανοντὰ μοι ποιεῖς* in 1108 is explained, and excused, by his ejaculation just before in 1102, which is where he first has a glimpse of this new *ἀνάγκη*. His poverty and not his will, consents; and, as his will consents not, *he has won*. Constancy such as this may well justify a miracle. For it is a miracle itself. Alcestis comes back to a husband worthy of her.

At this point, what could she *say*, which, even if Euripides could write it, an Athenian audience would understand, or even tolerate. Dr. Verrall, and some others, have taken her silence, 1143, and the sudden ending of the play as a jibe or an indiscretion. I venture to suggest, as an alternative, that it is the silence of eloquence, and high dramatic instinct. Herakles alone really finds his tongue: brusque and candid as ever, he points the moral of it all. 'Good-bye; and take care of the Code.'

καὶ δίκαιος ὄν

τὸ λοιπόν, Ἄδμητ', εὐσέβει περὶ ξένους.

But Admetus knows better; and knows, too, that Alcestis understands:

νῦν γὰρ μεθ' ἡμῶς μεσθὰ βελτίω βίω

τοῦ πρόσθεν· οὐ γὰρ εὐτυχῶν ἀνῆσομαι.

J. L. MYRES.

NOTE

Owing to the absence of the author on naval service, this article has been printed without revision at his hands.—EIDM.

A LYDIAN-ARAMAIC BILINGUAL

II.

(Continued from p. 87.)

The Lydian-Aramaic bilingual comprises a type of text, of which, as it fortunately happens, several purely Lydian examples were found. It seems clear from a comparison of the Aramaic and the Lydian that there is a sufficiently close agreement between the two to allow the conclusion that several of the other Lydian inscriptions are not merely funerary, but also are in certain respects of the same general trend as the bilingual. If so, the bilingual is of the first importance for the preliminary information it furnishes touching the general character and contents of these inscriptions; and, in fact, it is easy to observe the recurrence of certain Lydian words and phrases which distinguish the inscriptions published in the present fascicule, and to contrast other inscriptions not included in it, where we often miss these features. But it is necessary at the outset to feel tolerably sure of the translation of the Aramaic text and of the preliminary conclusions which can be based upon a comparison of the two portions of the bilingual; and since here and there the Aramaic is extremely obscure, and there is room for more uncertainty than Littmann allows the attempt may now be made to reconsider the Lydian in the light of the Aramaic, and at the same time, to take account of criticisms and suggestions which have reached me since the appearance of the first part of this article.¹

The initial assumption, based upon the Aramaic and the similarity between the Lydian texts, is that we have funerary texts, of the same general structure, specifying property, objects, etc., and the owner of them, uttering some warning against interference, and sometimes invoking a deity (Artemis), or deities, evidently to punish the offender. In this way it is possible to recognise (1) characteristic objects, which are mentioned apparently first in the nominative (e.g. this X is . . .), and later in the oblique case

¹ I am indebted to Dr. A. E. Cowley and Dr. G. B. Gray, of Oxford, for remarks which I am glad to be able to use. The former has, however, some very revolutionary suggestions, which will be noticed at the proper place. My indebtedness to Mr. Bunkler has been already mentioned (p. 87).

I should add that the 'Louvre inscription' (note 5, etc.) is a Lydian text found by M. Bernard Haaseoulhier and shortly to be published by him and presented to the Louvre. He has very kindly allowed me to use a copy and photograph of it in preparing this paper.

(whoever shall injure [?] or do injury [?] to this X), and (2) certain typical conditional clauses with protasis and apodosis and with necessary verbal forms. Hence Professor Littmann has been able to make considerable initial progress with Lydian. Aided by the best expert opinion in Germany he has handled the problems with industry and ingenuity. He has outlined some of the main features of Lydian grammar and syntax, and has undoubtedly presented a consistent result, the very coherence of which is of course a strong point in its favour—provided the initial clues are sound. For myself, I may say at once that in many cases I feel exceedingly sceptical, perhaps unnecessarily so. The problem is not merely one of decipherment but of methodology, and when one has observed the painful steps in the decipherment of hieroglyphs and cuneiform, one is led to fear that many plausible clues and working hypotheses will prove to have merely a temporary and provisional value. In particular one must lament the lack of external control—the identification of the language, the need of independent criteria, and independently converging arguments instead of pyramidal constructions standing on hypothetical apices. One is forced to pursue one's conjectures to the utmost limit, fully assured that the truth can only be obtained through experimental theories upon which one dare not place undue weight; and the immediate problem of decipherment is scarcely of such personal interest as the problem of methodology, of solving problems, and the theory of theories.

Consequently, it has seemed to me futile to suppose that an industrious search through the lexicons of the Semitic languages would provide anything reliable. Renan has said something about what may be achieved by a generous mind and an Arabic dictionary; and for my part I have found various isolated identifications, too ingenious to be trustworthy, and too fragmentary to be worthy of mention. On *a priori* grounds one is led to assume that Lydian is a mixed language (cf. above, p. 79 seq.), and the horrors of uncritical scholarship are magnified if the Semitist may fill up his blanks with 'Hittite' and other dubious aids. At present, the Indo-European theory finds considerable favour (Littmann, pp. 77 seq.) and the Latinists are holding the field. The alleged Indo-European character of Hittite adds to the interest of Lydian decipherment, especially the view that Hittite approaches most closely of all to Latin. The alleged Hittite equivalents of Latin and Greek forms are doubtless attractive, but unfortunately there does not appear to be that similarity between Hittite and Lydian which one would expect, were both Indo-European, or more specifically of Latin kinship. However, this is a question upon which I can offer no opinion.⁴

⁴ Hropt's solution of Hittite (*Mitt. Deut. Orient. Gesell.* No. 56, Dec. 1915) is welcomed by Ed. Meyer and by Bohl (the latter in the *Theol. Tijdschrift*, Jan. 1916). A brief and cautious summary is given by Nöts in the *Revue Bibliques*, 1917, pp. 215 seq. Among

the identifications may be mentioned the Hittite *ug(a)*—Lat. *ego*; *tail*—*tunc*; *kuiš*, *kuski*—*quis, quid*; *kucatha*—*quodcumque*; *dauteš*—*daute* (pln. part.); *ammug*—*causa*; *appa*—*quo*; *paud*—*quod*; *šipanti*—*proinde*.

It is essential to bear in mind that in these pages I have followed Lüttmann's decipherment and transliteration. It is by no means certain that all his identifications are to be accepted; and although I have had the privilege of consulting various photographs and drawings, it is often impossible to arrive at any clear decision regarding those characters which are indistinct or easily confused. It may be convenient, therefore, to tabulate them:—

† l	† v	† d	† r	† p(?)
+ h	† t	† s	† n	
† u	† u	† z	† m	M a
† k	† g	† q(?)		
o u	q r	g b	g f	

The remaining characters are A, I, K, Q 5 (i, o) and Z 6 (r, z).

It must be confessed that though one must admire the work contained in this fascicule, the material is often very inconveniently arranged and unmanageable. The facsimiles are sometimes disappointing, and it is to be regretted that it was not found possible to publish all the Lydian texts at once. Many incidental references are made to those not yet published, and since they not only illustrate and supplement the material in this fascicule, but include some long and important texts, no real progress can be made until the whole lies before us. There can be no desire to trespass upon another's preserves, but so long as the Lydian problem is one to be submitted to the learned world, it is not a little embarrassing to approach the details so far published with the knowledge that the complete material gives a firmer grasp of the critical value of Lüttmann's work than the fascicule permits.¹

§ 1. The bilingual (L. 17) is introduced by a date of which unfortunately only a mere fragment survives in the Lydian. As none of the other Lydian inscriptions are dated, it is extremely unlucky that the Aramaic and Lydian do not agree, and that no trace can be found in the latter even of the mention of 'Sopharad, the city' (§ 1. end). The Lydian is restored conjecturally (Lüttmann, p. 38):—

boŕū X Artakšaxšē qaxšē orōš idā bakillē.

In the tenth year of Artaxerxes, the great king, in the Dorysiae month.

Mr. Buckler, however, would transpose the proper nouns and q. ('king'), and render was ('great' Lüttmann) 'during' or 'in the course of' (the Dorysiae month). The

¹ The above forms are of course highly schematic. Mr. Arkwright—as observed, p. 82 (above)—assigns to Lüttmann's q and z, the values l and u respectively. Dr. Cowley, too, has other doubts.

² The readings in L. 16, ll. 4-5 (for the references see the list above p. 82) on p. 42 and quoted on p. 13 are doubtful. The citation from L. 7, l. 1 is inaccurate; read *ḥadāš dātōwēkē*. On p. 15, middle (the remarks on 6), the words *suwēš* and *akmūt* should presumably be *suwēš* and *akmūt* or

akmūt. Page 17, among the words where d(?) occurs in the middle or beginning, references should have been given, *fentamēš*, for example, I cannot verify, unless it is *fetamēš* idē, 7.16. The same applies to the words beginning with q(?) on p. 18, especially *qaxšēlāw* (omit the a), *qaxšēlāw* (for *qaxšēlāw*, cf. 29, 2). On p. 64 read *duwēšmēš* for *duwēš* (l. 7 from foot) and apparently *fēllāw* (at foot). On p. 69, l. 8 from foot, for 28 read 24. Page 84, third item, read *kalumēš* and 11.4 (for 10.4).

restoration and the spelling of Artaxerxes are based upon L. 11 (p. 50), where *A* is followed by (A) *šāntānā dāc*, on which see below. L. 26 appears to be dated in the fifth year of Alexander (*brēš III II Ašišāntānā dāc*), and the ending *š* in the proper name seems to recur in the Falangis inscription: *brēš XVI Ašā . . . šū būmānā dāc*.¹ Since *š* is commonly a sign of the oblique case, Littmann observes that it is uncertain whether the final *š* is merely an ending which 'indicates determination, like *s* in Armenian', or whether 'the sign of the oblique case was not "affixed" to the form *Ariakšawan*, but "mixed" before the *š*, which was considered as a part of the name, not as the Lydian ending of the subjective case' (p. 50). Decision is difficult, but notice may be taken of the variation in the names *Mitridates* and *Mitridatēs* in the very closely related inscriptions 7₁₀₋₁₂ 30₁₇ (p. 84).

The translation of *quellā* is based upon the Hesyehian gloss *mekkēdār*, and is the main support of the precarious identification of *q* (p. 18).² The gloss is questioned by Lagarde (*Geogr. Abhand.* 273 seq.), though perhaps unnecessarily (Paufl); and it may be asked whether the Lydian word may be connected with the gloss *zōlor* 'king' cited by Sayce, *P.S.B.A.* xxiv. 272 seq.).

The 'Dionysiac month' is Buckler's brilliant suggestion (p. 38). He notes the small bilingual, 25 (*bakillā* = *Διονυσιακός*) and 4₁₀, where *kurek bakillā* apparently means 'and—priest of Dionysos'.³ *kurek*, 'priestess', is found in honorific Greek inscriptions from Sardinia, and a masculine *kore* may be postulated.⁴ The equation *bakillā* = *bakileis* is perhaps not too difficult, and since the Aramaic unambiguously names the month *Marḥeshwan* (the eighth month, October–November), that would be the time when the vintage was over and the first wine drunk, and such a month might very well be called 'Dionysiac'.

The eighth month corresponds to the Chananite *Bul*, the Macedonian *Διος*, and the Aramaean *Gawin* (ܓܘܝܢ) or (later) *Second Tishri*.⁵

The analogy of the Syrian double *Canan* and *Tishri* makes it conceivable that there was a first and a second 'Dionysiac' month, and that an ordinal lies in the unknown *lāš*. Again, it is conceivable that the two parts of the bilingual did not agree throughout in the dating; one may compare the Tannassus bilingual (Lidsbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 421), where only the Phoenician is dated, and the Palmyrene inscriptions (ib. 457 seq.), where the corresponding Greek omits the month. It is also possible that the Lydian is dated after some local office, more important to local readers than to those for whom the Aramaic text was intended. Thus the Greek inscription Le Bas-Waddington, No. 1651, is dated in the seventh year and the seventh month *Σαρκάουρος* *Ἀπρίστου* *ἑξαεταύρου* *ἰβρίου*. It is *a propos* to observe that some of the later Greek inscriptions from Sardis are dated after the priest (*Amer. J. Arch.* xvii. 47 seq.), and that *bakillā* closely resembles the Hesyehian *šarkālos* (= *σάρκος* and *γάλλος*), in which case it can have nothing to do with Bacchus.⁶

A more complete collation of parallel texts may suggest some new line. Thus, the

¹ Cf. also the Lamyre inscription *brēš XII oraš . . . Ašišāntānā dāc*.

² No notice is taken of the sign Φ in Sayce's Lydian inscription from Egypt (above, p. 77, n. 2).

³ For *-kurek*, cf. *katekallā* (cited p. 84), which has some relation to *katewān* (16), and presumably to *kōrē* (17). *Katōr* may be the Greek *καθώς*, etc., see W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *American Journal of Archaeology*, xvii. pp. 32 seq. *Katekallā* occurs several times in 16, along the right-hand side of which is a typical threat preceded by the obscure words *šarkit bakillā* (see p. 65 seq.).

⁴ *Amer. J. Arch.* xvii. 302, 306.

⁵ Further light on the names of the months may be hoped for from the Asia Minor calendar. The ordinary Semitic evidence is given by Lagrange, *Études sur les Rel. Sem.*, 2nd ed. (1903), pp. 275 seq.

⁶ Sayce conjectures that *šarkālos* is the Hellenised form of the Hittite *Ašakali* (*P.S.B.A.* xviii. 100, n. 2); if so, it is to be compared with the Assyrian *šakallā*, *wine man*, etc. As an official or priestly title the word seems to be found in Nabataean and Palmyrene (Cook, pp. 223, 296, with references).

combination *kañwānū dāc* is especially perplexing. It is found after the mention of Artaxerxes (11), Alexander (Louvre), after a lacuna (3), and in an obscure context in an inscription published by Keil and Von Premmerstein.¹¹ In such case some date-indication precedes. On the other hand, in 26, cited above, *dāc* occurs alone and the introductory word is not *borū* (or *forū*) but *brōc*, which may be another word for year (p. 55). Littmann, I think, does not cite 7₁₋₃ (*brōc III II dāc dāñē Mitrīdastai*), which, when compared with the related text 30, (*anāñ M.*, etc.), would suggest that *dāc* and *dāñē* are to be connected with what respectively precedes or follows. It must be left for the Hittite-Latinists to give the most obvious explanation of *anāñ*, and Etruscan experts must decide whether *borū* can conceal the Etruscan *rit*, 'year' (as Dr. Ancey, *P.N.B.A.* xxxiv, 192), which, however, according to Professor Conway, means 'old, aged' (*Ency. Brit.* 11th ed., ix, 862b).¹²

Littmann's own view is that *dāc* = 'days' is a plural in the oblique case. This is admittedly awkward in 26 ('of the five years [i.e. in the fifth year] in the days of Alexander'), where, too, the omission of some word for 'king' is strange. Moreover, if (*h*)*anāñwānū* really represents some month (p. 50), in the Louvre inscription the introductory *forū XII* ('in the year XII') is separated by several words from 'Alexander *anāñwānū dāc*': and it is surely very unlikely that the year and month of the reigning king would be parted in this way. Finally, if *h.d.* mean 'in the days of the month' it seems strange that they occur separately in 12₁₋₂ (p. 58), where, by the way, *dāc* follows *šfardak Artimū*, apparently 'Artemis of Sardis' (p. 61). In any case, Littmann's rendering, however clever, brings too many difficulties, although it seems impossible at present to offer any alternative satisfactory guess. The not altogether unfamiliar advice 'Better a bad theory than no theory at all, can hardly be recommended'.

Passing on to §§ II. and V., we can easily make these equations:

mrud = *𐌦𐌵𐌷𐌰*, stela or monument (?) sepulchre).

ānās = *𐌦𐌵𐌷𐌰*, cavern or vault.

šakriak = *𐌦𐌵𐌷𐌰* (*šic*, *š* add *𐌦𐌵𐌷𐌰*) funeral couches (?) trees).

On the Aramaic terms, see above, p. 83 *seq.* Dr. Cowley observes that the first word is certainly the same as the modern Persian *ستون* and the Zend *stāna*, column, and that the spelling (*n* for *z*) belongs to a time when Persian was, to some extent at least, familiar in Sardis; the later spelling with *š* would be a corruption. As for the Lydian terms, *ānās* has sometimes the first place, as, e.g., in the twofold 7 (pp. 42 *seq.*), where *ānās* in 16 is replaced in 12 by *ānās (šic)*, and amplified with the addition of *anlōlōc* and *šarorū*. Otherwise *mrud* seems the more important, whether in the case of the plain stela 16, or in those with reliefs (4, 12, 26). Especially noteworthy is the plain *mrud* *baal* (29), which is not of the usual funerary type, and seems to name the Semitic Baal. While *mrud* is probably a compound, the word *šarorū* in the metrical inscription 12 may be, as Littmann conjectures, merely an archaic poetical form.¹³

Among other objects named upon the inscriptions are the *anlōlōc*; Littmann compares the form *anlōlōc*, and we may perhaps add (*h*) *anlōlōc* from the Palanga inscription. One is tempted also to include *artōlū*, *artūlū* (7₁₀₋₁₂, 30₁₂). *Taag* is prominent in the Louvre, the Araby Hadjili, Pergamon, and Palanga inscriptions; Littmann ventures upon the pure guess 'column' (p. 30), but there is no evidence as to whether this is in accordance with the nature of the monument.¹⁴ *Salmes* has the first place, before *mrud*, in the ornamental stela 5, which also names the *mudac*. Elsewhere we find *arimus* (7, 27, cf. *arulis*, 30), *eminae* (13), *mūcindaē*, *hānackū* and *lūnām* (11).

¹¹ *Denkschr. Wiener Akad.* (iv, 1911), II, No. 182.

¹² To add to these conjectures one may note in 7₂ the combination *brōcān brōfū* (? *ān*) which suggests both the above *brōc* and the *isfū* of the bilingual. That *isfū* is merely an ending is probable on other grounds;

see below, v, 18 (3c).

¹³ He includes *šfardak* (= *šfard*, Sardis) in the same inscription; but the form recurs in 16₁₂ which does not appear to be metrical.

¹⁴ The fragment 23 mentions *taagias*. For the ending, cf. *arimū* (29₁), *gīdāmū* (4₁), *isfūdū* (11₁), but *šfardāmū*, l. 12.

A peculiar difficulty is *kelak* (§ III.) and its relation to *keläk* (VII, IX.). The former is presumably *kelak* + *k*, the enclitic conjunction. This *k* is sometimes repeated; in 16 the two deities, Hādān and Artemis, appear in 7₁₀ as *Hādān Artemak*.¹² But there seems to be no warrant for the variation *kala(k)*—*keläk(k)*, hence the two cannot be identical, and since the latter appears to sum up the list in § VII, (corresponding to the Attic 'anything'), the *k* is not conjunctive, but, Littmann suggests, may have a somewhat generalising force, like the Latin *que* in *quidque*. Here, however, more serious difficulties begin.

Some introductory remarks on endings are first necessary. The nominative with a demonstrative can be recognized in *esē vānās*, *esē tangi*, etc.—also *es vānās* (16), *es vānās* (19)—and *es mrad*, *es mremān*, but 27, offers *es mra*. The endings *-s* and *-d* are dropped with the enclitic *k*, so *Artemak*: *katovalik* (9), for *-s + k*, *mrad* (11), *esē mrad* (9). The oblique case is illustrated in *esē mrad*, *esē vānās* (in 11₁₀, the noun precedes). For the enclitic *-k* compare *mradk* (16). Littmann suggests that the demonstrative stem is *es*, becoming *esē* and *es* with nouns in *s* and *d*. The plural of the demonstrative is apparently *esē* for the nominative (p. 32); the oblique case is clear in *esēc antōlōc*, etc. (in 13, the noun precedes). The plural nominative ending, however, is distinctly conjunctive.

In *Artemas Idēmōl Kulmōl* (11₁₀₋₁₁), the 'Artemides' are apparently in the oblique plural (*-c* for *-c + k*), and the word should be compared with the bilingual, where Artemas Idēmōl Artemak Kulmōl refer to the Ephesian Artemis and the Colossian Artemis.¹³ But it proves difficult to translate the former as any other than a nominative, in spite of the ending *-c*. Again, when *aarās biraak* in the bilingual is compared with *nak aarac nak bira* (30₁₀), the natural assumption must be that the former exemplifies the singular oblique case-ending *-s*. But in the latter the meaning of *nak* is unknown, and *bira* presumably stands for *bira* + *k* or *bira* + *c*. It is difficult to decide, therefore, whether in the latter we have the nominative singular (*bira* + *k* and *aarac* for *-s*) or the plural—nominative or oblique. The interchange of *s* and *c* in the nominative singular is already vouched for by *es vānās* (14); but the plurals still remain perplexing.

In *antōlōl antōl* (12₁₁), the familiar noun appears to precede the demonstrative, and is apparently in the plural, although 1, 2 names only the singular *vānās*. *-s* is possibly the affix *-s* which stands at the beginning of conditional clauses (pp. 66, 70 seq.). If, then, *-c* is the sign of the plural, Littmann does well to cite the Armenian nominative plural in *-d* and to recall that there, too, the oblique cases end in a sibilant (*-s* or *-z*). It is this fact which induced him to fix the value of the sign for *c* (pp. 17, 31, 68). Unfortunately if *esēc* is in the oblique case, and *vānāc* is nominative, the difficulty still remains. Similarly, as regards the Lydian equivalent of the problematical funerary couches, *esēc labriac* (in the bilingual) or *labriac* (9, etc.) exemplify the oblique case. But the nominative presumably appears in *labriac* (8), *c* . . . *labriac* (9), and *labriac* (11), the last-mentioned with the affix *-s* to which Littmann would ascribe the force of a concluding particle.¹⁴ In 8 the conjunction, if it occurs at all, coalesces with the plural ending *-k*, while in 9 we may restore *esē*. The precise function of *k* is also doubtful in *sarok* (7₁₁) compared with *sarōd* (30₁₀) and *sarō* (27₁); it is tempting to treat the first as *sarō* + *k*, for *sarō* would become *sarō* in the oblique case. Again

¹² In 19, *Sandak*, *Knomik*, *Morivdak*, are presumably three gods; the second is *Knomik*, but it remains uncertain whether the last is *Morivda* (pp. 48 seq.) or, as Knudolf suggests, *Morōdik* = *Mirdak* (p. 82).

¹³ Above, p. 83, l. 7, of the Lydian, read *antōlōl* with *-s* instead of the doubtful *-s* which seemed preferable at the time of writing. It is interesting to recall that the place

Kolae, near *Sarisa*, with a famous sanctuary of Artemis, probably gave its name to Colossae, whence the 'Colossians' of the New Testament (Woodhouse, *Encyc. Biblica*, col. 859 n.).

¹⁴ P. 71. The same inscription contains *bal* ('or') repeated five times, the last with the ending *-s*. For an exception to this use of *-s*, see 15, (n. 30 below).

in Π_{-} , *būasokwē* and *būasōt* can be connected through a nominative singular *būasōt*. It is conceivable that the word for 'funerary couch' would be *lahrasōt*, but one must conclude with Liemann (p. 69) that the plural has not yet been satisfactorily determined.¹⁰

IX. The relation between the Aramaic and the Lydian is as follows:

<i>parā hiraṇ</i>	his court, his house...	הַבַּיִת וְהַמַּלְאָכִים
<i>kūḥā kofuā</i>	his possession, soil ...	הָאָרֶץ וְהַמִּלְכָּה
<i>hiraḥ holā</i>	and water and everything	וְהַמַּיִם וְכָל הַבְּרִיאָה
<i>bīlū</i>	that is his.	זֶה הוּא הַמֶּלֶךְ

It is at once tempting to find in the Lydian three pairs, each with the enclitic *-ē*, although as has been pointed out, the final *hefēkē* creates a difficulty. Moreover, in Aramaic, the fourth and fifth words form an excellent jingling pair, but the third and sixth fall outside it. But *hefēkē* so plausibly means 'anything' in § VII ('if any one destroys anything') - *kē* having a generalizing force; that Littmann very ingeniously proceeds to translate *hefēkē bēkē* in § IX. by 'everything that is his' (p. 36 seq.). Further, in 13 Artaanis is apparently provoked against a man's *hiraš hefēkē*, and since no other objects are named he argues that *hiraš* will hardly mean 'water,' but something more general, like 'property.'¹⁰ Hence he equates the first pair in Lydian with the first two words in the Aramaic, the second with the Aramaic 'soil and water,' and the third sums up 'the property whatsoever it is belonging to him.'

An regards the Aramaic, Dr. Cowley points out that the word for 'his court' can be taken as a verb 'may (Artemis) crush him, and that 'soil' or rather 'mire or mud' (𐤀𐤓𐤌) can be read 'well' (𐤀𐤓𐤌). It makes a better jingle *again a mayin* (if they pronounced it so), 'well and water.' The plural verb in § X. can hardly refer to the Aramaean deities, who would be regarded as one, and he would take people generally as the subject of 'disperse.' Finally, he suggests that the conclusion 'and his her[se] (𐤀𐤓𐤌) should be read as a noun 'and his heritage.' While giving all weight to Dr. Cowley's important suggestions, — and I may add that in his view the three Lydian pairs consist each of a noun and of a verb in *-t* — I do not feel convinced at present by his arguments. I see no reason to reject Litzbarski's translation 'his court' (𐤀𐤓𐤌); and although Litzmann's 'Artemides' in H₂ are not above reproach, I see no difficulty in the plural verb, and should be surprised to find in a sacred funerary inscription that the people in general were invoked to scatter those who injured the property. His suggestion 'well' is, of course, palaeographically excellent, but not inevitable; and I do not share his feeling that 'mud' stands in no antithesis to 'water.' It still strikes me that 'soil (mire) and water' is a popular rhyming phrase, not to be taken too literally — could one not equally

¹⁸ Jittmann's remarks on affixes and endings (pp. 70 *seq.*, 73 *seq.*) may be extended by the following note on typical variations:—

(4) As regards the oblique case in *-u*, it may be observed that *-ad* (or *ad*) *-es*, *-ae* (or *ae*) become *-uā*, *-ū*, *-ū*; but *crēdō* (19, 1) becomes *crēdū* in 12, an inscription with several peculiarities, and *dumus* (4) becomes *dumū*, *dumū* (22, 1), where *-ad* is presumably an affixed particle.

(22) For the relation between *s* and *-s*, cf. *hi:s*, *hi:d* 'whoever' (p. 67), *sedod* (12_s), *od* (1, 10, 29_s), *sedod* (7_s), *od* (30_s), cf. also *anōd* (1).

(3) Other endings: —

(ii) \pm , in \mathcal{A} and \mathcal{B} , for $(4_{112}, 1)$, for (19_1) , for (29_1) ; but (30_1) , at $(1, 9)$, $(1, 8)$; but (7_1) , and (30_1) , at (19_1) ;

(7.3) $\text{Fenol (13}_1\text{), ácido (19}_1\text{), éster (13}_2\text{):}$

gumbe (29, 1) = *meit* (1, 14), cf. 1 above

(c) *da*, in *mānu* (4_a), *mā* (1 14), *mānu* (1 1), *mānu* (1 8); *nirā* (30_a), *da* (6), *Arinū* (Valanga); *Hānu* *Arinū* (7), *da*, also *Arinū* (19_a, 34_a), *da* (34), and *Arinū* (2, 26, 27_a), *mā* (10), *mā* (27), *ma* (16_a) and *Arinū* (26).

(d) \rightarrow in *saltia arenalis* compared with *saltia* (\rightarrow in *saltia*) ($30_{\text{p-1}}$).

(9) *ide*, in *gênide* (19), *intide* (16), *paupide* (1, 10), *testifamande* (29), *vide* (30), but *bidde*, 1, 11; but *tride*, *historide* (16); cf. also *diavide* (14), but *diavul* (28).

(f) *šarvad* (12₁, 16₂); *šard* (4₁, m from *šard*); *šardak* (12₂), *šardēnā* (4₁); *šān*, *šān*, *šān*, *šān* (11, 2-13).

¹² In 4₁₉ it follows *gešum*, but the context does not appear to contain any threat.

find logical faults in 'house and home'.¹⁹ Dr. Gray, moreover, sees in the Aramaic a good Semitic construction: the two words are to be taken with the preceding—i.e. 'his possession(s) in (or of) soil and water'.²⁰

As for the Lydian terms, Littmann cites the Hittite *biru* and *buedant* which resemble the second and third, but are too obscure to be of much use (p. 80). I, for my part, have come across the Lydian *kufa* 'grave' and the Caucasian *hiri* 'water,' which recall the fourth and fifth. But I am not disposed to press them.²¹ On the other hand, I have already observed that the grave (or 'eternal house' in Palmyrene) finds a parallel in the home of the living (above, p. 86), and consequently the conception of a *talio* may be worth developing. The old Semitic funerary inscriptions sometimes contain ideas of this nature: thus an old Aramaic text reads: 'if thou shalt protect this image and couch may another (!) protect thine' (Cooke, No. 64), and the well-known Taburnish inscription from Sidon threatens with a disturbed future him who disturbs the occupant of the tomb. To some extent the equipment of tombs resembled that of private houses—a Nabataean inscription from Petra even speaks of gardens and wells (Cooke, No. 94, above, p. 84). Consequently, it may be worth considering whether the clue should not be followed up, and the effort made to interpret the bilingual on the assumption that there is a close resemblance between the property of the dead and the threatened property of the offender.²²

There seems no reason to doubt the general character of the Lydian in § IX.—unless Dr. Cowley's revolutionary view is right.²³ In any case it is unsafe to assume any close relationship between it and the Aramaic. If we ignore *bila*, the Lydian consists of three pairs united rhythmically, whereas the Aramaic, apart from the solitary jingle (𐤁𐤏 𐤁𐤏), might suggest two triplets: 'his court, his house, his property, "soil and water," and whatever is his.' There is apparently no reference to 'his heirs' in the Lydian, and Littmann would find the only trace of the possessive in *bila* (p. 37). As evidence for this he cites the phrases *nik his nik bila* (7₁₁) and *bā bila* (30₁₂), which he translates: 'another he nor anyone who is his, and "him and anyone who is his." But fuller data should have been presented, because the latter (in the parallel 7₁₁ *bū*) occurs before the objects *arila* and *hira* (in 7 *arila*, *hira*), and in a context where Artemis (7 *adīs Hūdāns*) is invoked to curse (1 *kūsarlokid*) the offender. Would 'him and anyone who is his' naturally follow the verb and precede two objects, as is here the case? Moreover, in 5 *bila* in conjunction with *Tiedalis*, though in an obscure context, could mean, on the analogy of 7 *bila* *Tiedalis* (3), the *b* belonging to 7—see further below. In 27, *bilik* (7 *bila* + *k*) before *ess ifatūl* can hardly mean 'and his this . . .'.²⁴ The case for the possessive does not seem to be made out.

In § III, *belak* is presumably *belak* + *k*. *Belak* should stand for something definite: in 6 it follows after *stina* and *lakrimik*, and since, there, the oblique case is *belak*, as is only to be expected, the word is not to be identified with *belak* in §§ VII. and IX. The Lydian in §§ III. and VI. has an appearance of simplicity, whereas the Aramaic is extremely complex. Dr. Cowley asks whether the Aramaic *parbar* (on the reading, see above, p. 84) may not be the *παρθένος* often mentioned in Greek inscriptions from Lydia in the sense of 'enclosure, sacred precincts.' The ordinary Persian etymologies are, in his

¹⁹ *hiri* is the only parallel I have observed among the many Caucasian words collected by Kluge (*Mid. d. Vorderasiat. Gesellschaft*, v, 1907, p. 46).

²⁰ So Dr. Gray independently suggests this possibility as regards the Aramaic, and relating 𐤁𐤏 and 𐤁𐤏 𐤁𐤏 and 𐤁𐤏, asks whether 𐤁𐤏 may not be some very general term corresponding to 'his possessions, in soil and water.'

²¹ 'May (Artemis) break up (his) house,

destroy (his) goods, spoil (?) his land—may they drive him away'—three verbs in the singular (ending in -k) and the last verb in the plural.

²² *belak bila* in the inscription noted above (n. 11) is too uncertain. In *akē bū* (7₁₀ cf. 451 6), the oblique case of *his, his* (in who, that which, p. 67), can scarcely be in combination with a possessive. It will be seen that the reading -is in the oblique case is not -id.

opinion, hopeless, whereas a Greek etymology is in harmony with the late date I have suggested for the inscription (p. 81). The phrase 'above Sepharad' (if correct) is at least strange, and while he is inclined to wonder whether the extraordinary construction in § VI. could mean 'between the parbar and the cavern,' Dr. Gray points out that, to judge from § III., the two cannot be contiguous. This seems to be extremely important for the interpretation, and it is independent of the misspelling *-f-r-b* for Sepharad in § III. As regards this spelling, Dr. Cowley thinks it extremely unlikely that a workman would make a mistake in the name of his city, and other objections can also be brought, e.g. the use of the preposition, and the specific mention of the site on the monument. On the whole, however, I think it not improbable that a workman might have had before him a copy written in a cursive script, where *b* and *d* might be easily confused; and experience convinces one that when one is carefully copying words, the question of sense and intelligibility is not always so prominent as it is at other times. Moreover, it is not so strange that 'Sepharad' should be mentioned only in the Aramaic text for the benefit of those to whom Aramaic was the only *lingua franca*. Elsewhere, Lydian inscriptions seem to mention Sepharad specifically, and the emphasis is more marked if, with Dr. Gray, the Aramaic demonstrative in § II. *seq.* belongs, as in § V. *seq.*, to the noun preceding, in which case we can translate 'in this city of Sepharad' (l. 2), 'above this Sepharad' (§ 3).²⁵

Dr. Cowley doubts the reading *-f-r-b* (§ III.). He suggests that the word denotes some part of the tomb corresponding to *ad(mā)* at the end of l. 2, and therefore perhaps a native term for the Aramaic 'cave' or 'vault.' It is, however, doubtful whether there is sufficient agreement between the two portions of the bilingual in § III. to prove this. As the texts stand, *helak*, with the conjunction, would correspond to *וְעַל* rather than to the preceding *עַל*; but the word, together with *kudkūt* and *būtarrod*, offers immense difficulties. Since *helak* in § III. appears to correspond to 'and parbar,' it should occur in § VI. But *helak kudkūt* is replaced by *bukūkad*, and the latter is probably a compound of *buk kudkūt*, although Littmann takes *bū-* to be merely an error (p. 35). *Buk* presumably means 'or,' while *kudkūt* may mean 'opposite, before' (p. 32). But if so, *kudkūt* defines the position of *helak* in § III. and of *lahiriad* in § V. *seq.*, which is too improbable ('the couches or opposite'?). Far more attractive is Dr. Cowley's conjecture that *kudkūt* must be the relative and *būtarrod* a verb. We can then translate: § III. 'and the *b*, which stands upon (?) this cavern,' and § VI. 'the couches (?) or whatever stands,' etc. Already the Hittite *kūški*, *kūd*, *kunukka* have been associated with the Latin *quique*, *quid*, *quodque*—it is easy to see how the Latinity of *kudkūt* seems to be assured. On the other hand, the relative and indefinite pronouns have been found by Littmann in the forms *hi*, *hi*. In any case, the whole clause is to be compared with 9₁ l. 1 . . . *buk eadai lahiriad bukū kad vāmū būtarrod*, whence it seems that *ad* in the bilingual is an unessential word, perhaps, as Littmann conjectures, meaning 'here.'²⁶

§ IV. *Alad*, 'property.' Littmann notes two formulae of possession: (1) *akad Maniad* (as here), and (2) *ad vāmū Maniad* (16), *ad vāmū Sirdadū Armādi* (15), etc. Both occur in 2, (*ad vāmū kad meud Atrastad Timēid*). Thus, *hi*, *hi* are 'the endings of adjectives denoting appurtenance or origin,' and correspond with nouns in *-a* and *-d* (p. 33). A curious exception, however, seems to appear in 5, (*biliy Tindali Adad*). At all events, a third case is probably to be added (3), viz. *ad vāmū karad Sabūad* (11).²⁷ Littmann conjectures that the adjectival endings are derived from the

²⁵ The *π* in *περε* in § III. may be an error for the definite *ad* (Cowley), or (with Gray) an anticipatory suffix, 'above Sepharad in' his parbar (viz. the property of, etc.).

²⁶ The form *kudkūt* seems to resemble that of *qūdūd* in 11 (Littmann takes *q* to be an error for *v*, pp. 18, 30) and of *qūdūd* in

16. But the class may be illusory. *Būtarrod* (*bū-t-r-r-d*), too, resembles the form *p-r-b-d* which Amreez everywhere reads in place of *parbar* (p. 20), seeing that *-d* may be merely a sign of a derived stem (as at *regatū mab talid*, p. 45).

²⁷ *Karad* follows immediately in 11, but *Sabūad* comes in 11, after *akad Karad* and

genitive, *-l* being originally a genitive termination. In this connexion it will be remembered that, after Mr. Arkwright's phonetic analysis of the inscriptions, *ā* the sign of the oblique case has the value of a *l*.²⁷

A point of some interest lies in *Silabalid*. Unfortunately as regards the Aramaic Dr. Cowley expresses strong doubts. He remarks that the names *M-n-y* and *K-m-Ly* are *Mani* and *Kimlī*, 'compare *Manina* and *Camilla*, the former probably, the latter certainly an Etruscan name.' But 'of *S-r-w-k*' (𐤱𐤴𐤥𐤾) should perhaps be read 𐤱𐤴𐤥𐤾 (*S-r-w-k*); at all events 'it cannot end in *sk*.' Dr. Cowley's palaeographical objections are very weighty, but as the word, in both parts of the bilingual, is a later insertion, it may have been made by another and less skilled hand. Nor do I think the absence of uniformity so crucial, since also in the Lydian, *k*, for example, takes rather different forms. Moreover I would fall back on the theory of the possibility of a 'cursive' copy, from which the insertion may have been made rather hurriedly and carelessly.

As regards the Lydian terms, there seems no reason to doubt that *akad Manlid* *Kamilid* means (very literally) 'the property belonging to M. belonging to (i.e. son of) K.' But can we translate *Silabalid* 'belonging to (member of) S.'? The ending would have three different meanings: possession, parentage, and (after the Aramaic) some tribal or similar relationship. It is tempting to point to the Biblical-Aramaic 'Shushanchites' (𐤱𐤴𐤥𐤾, Ezr. iv. 9), a compound of *Shushan* and *-ak* (cf. Andreas in Mari's grammar, p. 56), and to conjecture that *-ā* is a gentilic. Littmann, too, has suggested that *ifordak* (12) means 'Sardium,' and has compared the Etruscan *-ak* (p. 62). If this conjecture be worth considering, we may venture, retaining the Aramaic 𐤱𐤴𐤥𐤾, to suppose that *Mani* and his father *Kimlī* were 'Syrians,' and to analyse *Silabalid* into *Sila* + *ka* + *lid*. Without going into the question of the name itself, it is interesting to observe that the Jews in Elephantine were ready to assert, in the papyri, that they were 'Jews' or 'Aramaeans,' and even to assume foreign names. It may seem an objection that, in the bilingual, 'Syrian' is (cf. *hyp.*) written in the native form with *k*, but also in Elephantine the adjectival form of *Syria* has on one occasion both the Iranian and Aramaic endings.²⁸

Passing over an obscure use of *akad* in 4₁₁₋₁₂ we may note 13 (pp. 51 *egg.*), where *ed ninas Alak* . . . *ak Tostatid Siminlid* appears. At first sight, to offer *ak* for *akad*.²⁹ The inscription concludes (ll. 3-5) with the typical threat 'if anyone (*ak nāhis*) . . . then may Artemis (*fakad* 𐤱𐤴𐤥𐤾) . . .'; but the use of *nāhis* . . . *ak* in l. 2 is puzzling. Littmann decides that these cannot be the familiar particle *ak* 'if,' but are perhaps independent words for 'and' like the Latin *atque* and *que*. Now if l. 1 specifies the ownership, it is rather unlikely that *nāhis* or *ak* can be connected with *akad* 'property.' But it is conceivable that the warning begins in l. 2, in which case we can find a plausible meaning, provisionally utilizing some of Littmann's conjectures: 'This is the vault (or cavern) of A. T. T., now if *k* (certain relatives), if *nāhis* (all also relatives) of T. S., *nāhis* of S. M., if anyone . . .'. In this case the warning is first addressed specifically to these unknown names, and is finally quite general; and this is precisely in the style of the bilingual, where we pass from the specific objects in § V, *egg.* to the very general 'anything' in § VII. Moreover, the Nabataean inscriptions will commonly specify those who may share in a tomb; and this would be strongly in favour of the preliminary conjecture that

before *Siminlid*. Cp. also *Siminid*, *id* and *id* with *-ā*, *-ā* (see above), and *-ā* in 13, 13, 27.

²⁷ Cf. also Littmann's discussion p. 16. For *-ā* and *-ā*, cf. above, n. 18 (3c).

²⁸ In the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, *Sachau* (*Aram. Pap.*, p. 208) cites 𐤱𐤴𐤥𐤾 (with Iranian ending *-ā*), and 𐤱𐤴𐤥𐤾 (with the further addition of the Aramaic *-ā*). It may be added that from the same source comes

the Persian 𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎 the name of an official class, wherein *-ā* is an affix (see Andreas in *Lid. larek*), *Ephemeris*, ii. 215).

²⁹ Cf. the inflection above, n. 26.

³⁰ The inscription begins: (1) *ed ninas Alak Tistatid Siminlid*, (2) *akim kishan nāhis ak Tostatid Siminlid*, (3) *nāhis Sefatid Mīnālid nāhis ak nāhis*, etc. As here, however, is not a concluding particle, contrast above, n. 17.

akā and *ak* in 1, 2 were connected with *akad*, in which case H. 1-3 would name all the owners. But since this seems out of the question, the alternative conjecture is that, whereas Nabataean inscriptions explicitly state the kinsmen and others who may share a vault, here the inscription is excluding certain individuals, who perhaps might otherwise be supposed to have some rights or claims. This of course is as purely conjectural as Littmann's view, but he has to postulate new meanings for *ak(ia)* in 1, 2, which it would be preferable to avoid if possible. *Akīa*, on this view, is a compound of *ak* and *ia*, of which the latter appears elsewhere in *akīa*, another form of *akī*; see further below.

§ VII. The ordinary formula of the threat can be easily recognized. The verb in the protasis ('destroy' or the like) is *fənsūbid*—the spelling with *jd* in the bilingual need not have been corrected (p. 35), compare the form *foṛū* in the date-introduction of the Louvre inscription in the place of *berū*. The verb recurs without the initial *f* in 26. In the apodosis the verb is *qabāḥid* ('scatter' or the like)—used varyingly with a singular or plural subject. Another form of the verb is apparently to be seen in *qabāḥid* (11₁₂), but *qabāḥid* which occurs in an obscure context may have no connexion with it (4₁₃). Some curse or other punishment is expressed by the verb *kātārakid*—used indifferently with the singular or plural (p. 70). Although the formula in the bilingual is common, another occurs several times: *faknē* (or *akac*, 16) *visū* (or *aii*.) *nivīḡ* (or *aii*.) *varbāḥid* (or *varbōd*, 16). Littmann ingeniously conjectures: 'may a god upon the godless take vengeance' (p. 45 seq.). The verb lies in the last word: for the verbal ending *-id*, cf. *qitallid*, in the parallel text 7₁, 30₁, and *qitalad* (30₁), and possibly *bātārōd* and *qatōd*.²² *Visū* and *nivīḡ* (cf. 7₁, and *nivīḡ* 30₁) are evidently related, and it is suggested that *aii* is a sign of the negative. In support of this he compares, among others, *haasū* and *nihāssū* (27, 29). Here, as further comparison shows, *aii* can be replaced by the separate word *nīd*, and since the latter precedes the verb *ənsūbid* (26₁) and the possible verb *kātārōd* (12₁₂),—in 7₁ the context is obscure—a negative idea is very plausible.²³

The conditional particles vary considerably (see p. 72 seq.). The variations *fakmā* and *akmā*, *fakū* and *akac* suggest the use of *f* as a prefix. *f* is frequently found at the beginning of words in Lydian, but it is difficult in 1 to see any real difference between *ənsūbid* (25) and *fənsūbid* (23), nor does it seem possible at present to determine whether elsewhere *f* is a prefix or not. At all events, the particle *f* is used in the old Aramaic inscriptions of Zenjirli in North Syria (latter half of the eighth century B.C.).²⁴ But it is also found in Nabataean, Palmyrene, and especially in Arabic; and consequently it must be left open whether the early use of *f* at Zenjirli is due to some linguistic influence from Asia Minor, or, as would otherwise be assumed, is an early use of a purely Semitic particle.

The fact that *kī* also occurs instead of *nāḥis* (§ VII) suggests that *nā* is merely an indefinite particle (p. 71): cf. the forms *nāḥid*, *nāḥida* (4₁, 30₁).

The use of *-it* as an introductory particle in conditional clauses is well illustrated in the line written down the margin of 16 *ənsū bakiḥid mēnū ḥal əsūl mī kī fənsūbid akac əlāḡ nīḡḡḡ varbōd* (pp. 65 seq., 70, 73). Littmann conjectures: 'the said (?) Bakivalis stole is sacrosanct (?), now (?) this stole, *whoever destroys it, may a god take vengeance upon the godless'. The same affix appears in *akī*, and *akīa* (for *ak-ia*), and in *fakmā* and *akmā* (6₁ & 4). It is difficult, however, to understand the relation between *akmā* (7₁, 30₁), *fakmā* (30₁), and *fakmāḥis* (7₁, cf. 1, 3). In *mā* Littmann would recognise a personal suffix, used perhaps as an ethnic dative (pp. 34, 37, 66). The

²² See above, n. 25. *qitalad* is the verb in the protasis of 13; and strangely enough, Littmann has not recorded the parallels in the (as yet unpublished) inscriptions 1 and 39.

²³ Unfortunately not all these and other necessary details are given in this fascicule, and judgment must therefore be suspended. So, for example, *nihāssū* (29₁) compared

with *nīnū nūḡ haasū* (27₁) suggests the possibility of the use, in the latter, of a double negative, *nīn* and *nīd*.

²⁴ Viz. the old Hadad inscription (Cooke No. 61), e.g. *f-m-z*, l. 3, 'whatever'; and before verbs in the perfect and imperfect, ll. 14, 31.

corresponding plural would be *ak* in *akad*, *fakad*, etc. At all events, *ak* is the radical conditional particle, and the successive forms it can assume by the prefix *f* and by affixes, lead to such results as *fakad* (11₁₁), *fakmūtad* (12₁₂), and *akmūtad* (12₁₃).

In the bilingual the construction is: *akid nāhis* (§ V) followed by specific accusatives and no verb, and continued by *altin nāhis* (§ VII) with the necessary verb and a generalizing object. The meaning is evidently to the effect: 'if any one, as regards these particular objects, if any one destroys (?) anything, then may Artemis . . .'. The Aramaic construction is similar: 'and whosoever against this . . . in fine (*lit.* "afterwards") whosoever destroys or breaks anything, then (*lit.* "afterwards") may A . . .'. It has been suggested that a somewhat similar type of construction recurs in 13 (above). Again in 11 (p. 49) the repetition of *altin nāhis fensibid* (ll. 5 and 11) may be due to a suspended construction: but the context is hardly clear enough to allow a decision.

In conclusion, I may add that I have been unable to follow up the mason's marks between the two portions of the bilingual—other examples appear in 6 and 9; nor have I been in a position to work out the numeral signs, viz. on the bilingual 11, the Falanga and the Louvre inscriptions. One gains the impression that Lydian used the North Semitic forms—through the influence of the Aramaeans; but the point is an important one, and one must await the publication of facsimiles. The symbols (*e.g.* on 7) and the various religious criteria (names of gods) have been outside my scope, and the endeavour to find proper names and gentiles has not been very successful; Littmann has collected many useful notes, but the results of my own inspection of the names on the Greek inscriptions from Sardis are poor.²⁴ The names, in fact, have proved decidedly more disappointing than was to be anticipated from one's experience in the Semitic field; and it is for others to say whether there is really a gap between Lydian onomatology and the later Greek inscriptions, and also, to what circumstances it is due.

To sum up as fairly as possible, we must acknowledge that Littmann has made many extremely suggestive conjectures, which, on the whole, are fairly consistent with one another. It is to be regretted that all the Lydian inscriptions from Sardis could not have been published together, and until they have been made accessible it seems premature to proceed further. The present reviewer is obliged to confine himself to the bilingual and to questions arising out of it, and here alone there is room for much further discussion.²⁵ It seems to be very necessary to bear in mind, what is common enough in bilinguals, the relative independence of the Lydian and the Aramaic and the impossibility of treating either as a literal translation of the other. This conclusion does not exclude the likelihood of certain influences, *e.g.* the Aramaic word for 'property,' the omission of the verb in

²⁴ See *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* xvi, (1912), 28 *seq.* Among the names are 'Aprejda, a man's name (*A.J.A.* xciii, 61 *seq.*); 'Acrasas (*A.J.A.* xviii, 25), cf. *Atalis* in L. 13, *Dionysias* as the name of a tribe (*ib.* p. 37); *Momian* (*ib.* p. 66), cf. *Mimilis* I, etc.; *Nēzpas* (p. 28); cf. *Mērid*, 7, 20; *Myrosias*, etc. (*A.J.A.* xvi, 45); cf. *Mēlas*—if a proper name, 20; *Namas*, *Ninis* (*A.J.A.* xvii, 35,

38), cf. *Namas*, 23; *Zabōrēras* (*A.J.A.* xvi, 41); cf. the first syllable of *Sadkorth* 29.

²⁵ As further Semitist opinion is necessary, it may be as well to mention that in *acris* (l. 2, end), the final *s* is covered by plain traces upon the negatives (as Mr. Bechler kindly informs me), and by Aramaic usage. The traces do not come out, however, on the photograph, p. 78 above.

§ V. seq., and perhaps also the syntactical clumsiness of §§ III. and VI.²⁶ But one has only to consider the present unintelligibility of the long metrical inscription, L. 12 (p. 58) to appreciate how much we are indebted to the bilingual for a general preliminary knowledge of the briefer and interrelated Lydian funerary texts. Moreover, one is able to realise the fact that when the parallel texts of a bilingual or trilingual are not practically identical, the inability to identify an unknown language makes itself seriously felt. In the past, the reconstruction of Egyptian, Old Persian and Babylonian, was furthered by parallel texts and by the help of (respectively) Coptic, Persian and the Semitic languages. Here, however, the identification of Lydian remains problematical, and at present, there appear to be no philological equations sufficiently sober and decisive to form a basis for further unimpeded comparative and constructive work.²⁷ Viewed from a purely Semitic standpoint, the Lydian problem is one with that of the other non-Semitic languages which prevailed through what may be called the 'Hittite' area and which leave their mark upon the Semitic inscriptions of North Syria. The bilingual adds another link to the chain connecting Asia Minor with Syria and Palestine, and, in emphasizing the inter-communication and intercourse throughout Hittite Asia at different periods of its history, is a positive contribution to our presuppositions and preconceptions of the area.

Finally, in addition to all that this text can directly or indirectly contribute to the world of scholarship must certainly be mentioned its great popular interest—its suggestiveness for the history of the Jewish Dispersion and for its sidelights upon a place of much importance. If, as seems extremely probable, the bilingual, taken with the reference in Obadiah v. 20 to the Jewish exiles of Sepharad, testifies to a Jewish colony or garrison, similar to that at Elephantine, there is obviously a possibility that just as the latter has divulged some of its secrets and has illuminated the religious and other antiquities of the Jews of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., so future excavations may well bring to light facts relating to the life and thought of the Jews at Sepharad, the predecessors of the Christian Church in Sardis.²⁸

STANLEY A. COOK

²⁶ Dr. Cowley remarks that 'the "curious usage of $\omega\omega$ " (Littmann, pp. 24, 39) is common in the Elephantine papyrus of Ahikar and of the Behistun inscription, where it corresponds to the Old Persian *pasaca*. There is no need to compare the Pahlavi. It is simply due to Persian influence.' As regards foreign influence, the archaeological facts are of interest, and Mr. H. C. Butler has drawn attention to the resemblance between the jewellery found in Lydia and the Etruscan. The expedition also found seals, gems, etc., of Persian design, perhaps cut for Persian nobles; these may have been of local manufacture (*J.A.S.* cv. 157, xvi. 479).

²⁷ To the non-classical student *Lydia* and

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Lydia suggest *quidquid* and *forum*, but a conscientious study of Semitic and Persian texts would produce equally curious resemblances elsewhere.

²⁸ It is at least a very curious coincidence that at Sardis there was evidently a cult of 'Artemis of K.l.w. (Kolos) and Ephesus,' and that the coordination of this Colossian and Ephesian Artemis recalls the close relationship between the Colossians and the Ephesians, and between the Pauline Epistles addressed to each. But it is taken for granted that the Phrygian Colossae is meant, even though the name of the city itself is actually of Sardinian origin (see n. 16).

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Fragments of Sophocles. Edited, with Additional Notes from the Papers of Sir R. C. Jebb and Dr. W. G. Headlam, by A. C. PEARSON, M.A., formerly Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Three volumes. Pp. i + 270, ii + 330, iii + 339. Cambridge University Press, 1917. Price £2 5s.

Regrettable as it is that Jebb's magnificent work on Sophocles was not entirely completed, it is permissible to doubt whether the fragments have not gained rather than lost by being left to a rather later date and handled by a younger generation of scholarship. The special gifts of literary judgement and taste which mark Jebb's editions of the complete plays would not have had the same scope in dealing with the fragments, whereas in certain respects Mr. Pearson is probably better equipped for this particular task than his great predecessor. For example, he is more thoroughly versed in recent German periodicals, in questions of metre, and in comparative philology. And Dr. Headlam's contributions, though not very extensive, are always fine and often original.

The work of editing Fragments demands special qualifications. First, the mastery of much tiresome and elusive literature; the constituting of a text by evidence and methods quite different from those on which a continuous text normally depends; a power of dealing with minute questions of lexicography, and with the literary treatment of mythology (quite a different subject from mythology proper); and lastly, if it does not demand, it warmly welcomes a power of brilliant speculation, such as Welcker's, in matters of dramaturgy. In no one of these varied qualifications can Mr. Pearson be said to fail, and in his whole work he shows a very high degree of competence, thoroughness, and sound judgement. It is a point in his favour rather than against him that he indulges so little in speculation or in corrections of the text.

The Greek Tragic fragments have attracted, naturally enough, some very gifted editors. Welcker's *Griechische Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den Epischen Cyclus* produced (Bonn, 1836), though based on a questionable foundation, was a work of real genius and still exercises a profound influence. Mr. Pearson, for example, finds it necessary to argue against Welcker far more than against any more recent writer; so much does he hold the field. Bothe, Wagner and Ahrens followed him closely; Hartung temporarily tried to outbid him and showed what Welcker's daring without his knowledge and judgement resulted in. Nauck in his *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* struck out a different line. He applied strict principles of criticism to the text and sifted the sources of the fragments; and to any reader who takes the trouble to look up Nauck's references his second edition of 1889 remains a wonderfully impressive and educative work.

As instances of Mr. Pearson's method one may cite his excellent note on fr. 776, "ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἦν Ἀγέρως Σοῦρ : on the *Isachus*, where his argument that the play was satyrn has been confirmed in the last month or two by a papyrus discovery; on the *Souda* *ἱπποῖ*, *Tyros*, *Eris*, *Olympus* *Acanthoplex*, *Phineas*. One is glad to see the odd title *Διογενέως* has become *Διογενέως*, a simple correction which at once clears the air. There are interesting lexicographical notes on *ἑσπερίων* 181 (due

chiefly to Hesallam), on 7471, *elios* 603, *lapis* 285, *destruere* 412—but one might cite such notes by the score. The fragments of the new Satyr play, the *Ichnēaias*, seem improved in some five or six places since Hirt's *editio princeps*, and make on me still the same impression of rare beauty. Mr. Pearson's explanation that the nameless Master of the satyrs is Apollo confirms my own view of that difficult little point, and his conjecture on v. 168, [α]λὰν ἐπὶ ἔργῳ ὁμῶς Σίωνα, 'Get away from the cross-roads,' i.e. 'make up your mind,' may well be right. Also *αἶσχος ἐκεί(μυ)στιος* in 104 is a decided improvement on *ἐκεί(μυ)στιον*. On the other hand I cannot believe in his reading of *Εὐρυπύλος* 52 & *πῶς ἴδεν τίς* (Σκαῖρος II), 'The one just wounds and nothing else.' I regret that he has not accepted Miss Harrison's explanation of the house of the nymph Cyllene as a conical underground dwelling with the door at the top. In another part of the book, *Incerta et spuria*, 1127, 1128, I wish he had ventured on a discussion of the source and nature of the curious fragments cited by Clement and Justin de Monarchis for the purpose of discrediting the pagan tradition. But that is only because of my own curiosity, not because an editor of the fragments is at all called upon to deal with the question.

The fragments of Sophocles are somewhat arid and tantalising; there is so much lexicography, so little drama, and on the whole so few passages of great poetical beauty compared with the natural expectation formed from the plays. But that is not the fault of Mr. Pearson, nor yet of Sophocles.

G. M.

Euthymides and his Fellows. By JOSEPH CLARK HOPPIN. Pp. 186. 48 Plates and 36 Illustrations in the Text. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917.

Dr. Hoppin's monograph *Euthymides* is well known to scholars. The present book is on a much larger scale. The author describes the signed work of Euthymides, studies the artist's style, and attributes to him a number of unsigned vases. He proceeds to treat Phintias and Hyeis in the same way, and concludes with a short account of the anonymous Kleophrades painter, who in his early period was influenced by Euthymides. Although the book is mainly concerned with these four artists, important general questions are discussed at suitable length. The text is accompanied by pictures of all the vases handled, some reproduced from other books, many from new photographs and drawings.

The signature of Euthymides is found on five vases in all, one of which is now lost: and always in the form *Euthymides epyphoros* (or *epyphos*): that is to say, it is the signature of the artist, not the trademark of the manufacturer. Inscriptions tell us further that Euthymides was at one time the friend of the vase-painter Phintias: for he is toasted on one of Phintias' vases: and the rival, though not necessarily, as has generally been assumed, the enemy, of the vase-painter Euphronios; for he writes 'Better than Euphronios' on one of his signed amphorae. Was he better than Euphronios? The Euphronios with whom Euthymides must be compared, for he has invited comparison, is not of course the many-handed prodigy destroyed by Furtwängler and Robert, but the painter of the four vases signed *Euphronios epyphoros* and such unsigned vases as cluster round them: and it is quite fair to say that the Theseus amphora in Munich, which is beyond all doubt by Euthymides, is not inferior to any Euphronian work: like the Munich Euphronios cup, like the Petrograd psykter, it is one of the masterpieces of archaic drawing.

Which artist is the more 'progressive' is an entirely different question, though it has commonly been confused with the first; and difficult to answer, seeing that we do not know which was the older of these two nearly contemporary artists. Hoppin seems to consider Euthymides the older, for he speaks of the time of Euphronios as subsequent to the time of Euthymides (p. 41. See also p. 25). But if we compare the drawing of the Antaios krater and the drawing on the Hector amphora, with the drawing of about 480 B.C., for

instance on Makron's kylix or on a cup by the Brygos painter, Euphronios, whether you look at the naked figure, the drapery, the hands or the ears or the feet, will produce a more archaic impression than Euthymides: to cite but one detail, Euthymides never uses black relief lines for the minor markings of the body, a practice which Euphronios shares with Oltes and other masters of the previous age, but always the brown lines which are regular in the ripe archaic period. I take it that Phintias, Euphronios, and Euthymides are nearly contemporary and equally 'progressive': Phintias may perhaps have begun painting before the others, at any rate his Munich cup is more archaic than any extant work of the other two, and Euthymides last: but our evidence is incomplete. What is certain is that the three painters are the chief representatives of the new 'athletic' period, Phintias standing in the middle, with Euphronios on one hand and Euthymides on the other, while two other less significant artists may be attached to the group, for Furtwängler was right in placing Hypsis by the side of Euthymides, and Smikros by the side of Euphronios. Oltes may be reckoned the forerunner of Euphronios, and the follower of the anonymous Andokides painter; the ancestry of Phintias and Euthymides is doubtful: Hoppin attempts to connect Euthymides with the Andokides painter, but on slender evidence.

Hoppin places the end of Euthymides' career about 490 B.C., which seems to me rather too late: I should be surprised if he survived the new century. Hoppin makes a slip in associating me with Hammer on p. 40: for I do not consider the Kleophrades painter to be the same as Euthymides. Hoppin gives my view correctly on p. 147.

To describe an artist's style is a difficult task, as everyone realises who has undertaken it. Just what is characteristic in his renderings often eludes expression, and over and above the renderings of separate parts there is something which can hardly be put into words. And so it cannot be expected that Hoppin's account of Euthymides' style (pp. 40-45) will enable the student to tell himself with assurance that this or that unsigned piece is or is not by Euthymides; but it will draw his attention to the particulars he must observe and guide his steps in the right track. The author might have mentioned Euthymides' tendency to render the commissure of the lips by a pair of arcs, and to place a brown line on the neck near the Adam's apple. The chests on the Theseus amphora are not so dissimilar from the chests on the signed vases as would appear from the text: the conception of a chest is the same: it is above all the drawing of breast and collarbone that persuades me to ascribe the Boston Hestias plate to Euthymides, an ascription which Hoppin rejects (p. 91). I feel less confident that the Compiègne psykter is by Euthymides, but I should like to place the original or an accurate drawing before Hoppin's eyes. The Petrograd hydria is surely by Euthymides. Hoppin finds that the proportion of human head to body is the same on all the signed vases of Euthymides, namely, 1 to 7, and therefore refuses to count as Euthymidean any vase which shows a different scale. He may well be right: but I doubt whether all vase painters are so faithful to their canon: it is an important question which has been discussed before and which demands further enquiry.

As to the precise value of the composition graphs at the end of the book I am less certain. It is obvious that one painter will prefer certain compositional lines, and another others; but it must not be forgotten that certain compositions are naturally appropriate to certain vase-shapes, and that the composition is frequently given by the subject: for instance, it may well be that one day we shall unearth a 'Contest for the Tripod' by Euthymides, and no one would be astonished if its graph did not differ from the graph of Phintias' 'Contest' on the amphora in Genetot. A large series of such graphs, made in the first instance without reference to authorship, would certainly be useful, and Hoppin has done well to make a beginning.

I now pass to the unsigned vases attributed by Hoppin to Euthymides, to Phintias, to Hypsis, and shall speak of them in order, giving Hoppin's numbers.

E III. Theseus amphora in Munich. It has long been recognised that this is by Euthymides, and his masterpiece. How fussy and petty, for all its scrupulous virtuosity,

the Tityos and Leto of Phintias (Pl. 31, in the book), when it is placed beside the griffin of Theseus and his bride (Pl. 3). The inscriptions on the Theseus amphora offer some difficulty: Hoppin, following Engelmann, supposes that the subject is the Rape of Helen, although the bride is labelled Korois on the vase: on the whole I prefer this view to Furtwängler's counter-theory.

E 1. Amphora. B.M. E 254. Hoppin is certainly right in connecting it with Euthymides, but I must consider it a lifeless imitation and not an autograph work.

E 2 (= P 5). Amphora. B.M. E 255. Hoppin attributes the obverse to Euthymides and the reverse to Phintias. Both sides are to my mind by a single painter, the author of E 1. It is quite possible that two painters may occasionally have collaborated on one vase, but I do not know any instance. Hoppin adduces a Berlin cup with the signatures of both Anakles and Nikosthenes: but the signatures are both of *eroikos* form: and that *eroikos* does not include *epaphros* in the b.f. any more than it does in the r.f. period, is shown by the signatures on the François vase. Again, it is true that the finest part of the London cup E 12 has generally been attributed to Euphronios and the rest abandoned to 'Pamphaios': but in fact the whole is by one artist, neither Euphronios, nor 'Pamphaios,' who was a shopkeeper and not, so far as we know, a painter.

E 3. Amphora. B.M. E 256. 'Obverse by Euthymides, reverse by Euthymides or a pupil of his.' The highly schematic drawing seems to me neither Euthymidean nor Phintian: in particular, the feet, hair, ears, fingers, quality of relief-line, reveal the hand of a new painter. The crinkly intermediate lines on the drapery have not the specific Euthymidean form: such lines are by no means peculiar to Euthymides, though his own variety of them is: they occur on signed works by Smikros, Euphronios and Epiktetos.

E 4. Amphora. Würzburg 300. 'Obverse by Euthymides, reverse by the Kleophrades painter.' I agree with Hartwig in giving both sides to the Kleophrades painter. I will mention only one argument against the Euthymidean authorship of the obverse, and that is one which will appeal to Dr. Hoppin:—the proportion of the heads to the bodies, if I measure it correctly, is the same as on the obverse, namely 2 to 13: the Kleophradean, and not the Euthymidean proportion.

E 5. Amphora in Leyden. 'School of Euthymides' according to Hoppin. This is an improvement on the older attribution to Olbia, but I cannot find anything specifically Euthymidean in the drawing.

E 6. Amphora. Louvre G 44. I was doubtful at one time whether this was by Euthymides or by an imitator: but when I had an opportunity of inspecting it more closely I saw that it was beyond all doubt by the painter himself. Hoppin arrived independently at the same conclusion. I read the inscriptions on the reverse AΣ, the end of the man's name written backwards, and XA|PE T[heon or the like]. The central figure is obviously female, as Hoppin suggests. The hair on the man's crown has an incised contour.

P. 62. The Louvre amphora. G 45. I persist in holding this to be an imitation of Euthymides' work, in spite of Hoppin's denial: it is not a companion piece to Louvre G 46 (p. 57), but stands very close, both in style and in quality, to the London amphora mentioned above, B.M. E 254 and E 255.

E 7. Psykter. B.M. E 707. 'Euthymides or school-piece.' I do not discover any Euthymidean traits in this unpleasant vase. Contrast the markings on leg and hip, the coarse lines of the collarbones, and the tiny drapery, with the renderings adopted by Euthymides.

E 8. Calyx-krater. Berlin 2180. I follow Robert and Furtwängler in ascribing it to Euphronios and not to Euthymides as Hoppin does. The ears with their double lobe are exactly Euphronian, and the hands, the collarbones, the breast, and the parts below it: for all these, and other details, compare the Antaios krater of Euphronios.

E 9. Kalpis in Dresden. Hoppin attributes to Euthymides, but hesitatingly. It seems to me Euphronian.

E 10. *Kalpis* in Brussels. This was assigned by Furtwängler to Phintias. Hoppin substitutes Euthymides, which is an improvement, although I do not think it hits the mark. The drawing somewhat resembles that of the two London amphorae E 254 and E 255.

E 11 and E 12. *Pelikai* in Vienna and in Florence. Hoppin follows Furtwängler in assigning the pair to Euthymides, who is undoubtedly the artist, although the drawing, for some reason or other, though not less careful, is rather less ample than in his other works.

E 13-E 15. Cup with $\Theta\text{INTIA}\varsigma$ $\epsilon\text{Π}\rho\text{Θ}\epsilon\text{Ι}\epsilon\text{Ν}$ in Athens; cup with $\Theta\text{INTIA}\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in Berlin; cup in Leipzig. These three small cups were given to Phintias by Hartwig, and are now transferred to Euthymides by Hoppin. I do not regard Hoppin's arguments (p. 84) as conclusive: the lines of the ears on E 13 are not the Euthymidean lines; the helmets, the drapery, the bisected blazon are not peculiar: the backs of the figures on E 14 and E 15 are different from Euthymidean backs, as well as from each other. On the other hand, I do not feel sure that any of them is by Phintias.

E 16. Plate in Boston. The charming Nereid bears a certain resemblance to the Euthymidean figure which Hoppin sets beside it, but not enough to warrant his attributing it to Euthymides. The earrings are the same in both, but this is the commonest kind of earring: chin and breast are the same, but in how many other vases as well! hair and hood are only alike in type: eye and ear are quite different. I suggest that the Nereid plate is by the same hand as the Menon amphora in Philadelphia and the earlier amphora with the love name Hippokratēs in Munich. Add to Hoppin's description that the rim of the plate is white-ground.

E 17. Fragment of cup in Boston. Important as showing that Euthymides, like Phintias and Euphronios, painted cups as well as other shapes of vase. The subject still obscure: the 'cord' on the arm seemed to me part of the sleeve of a chiton.

E 18. Fragment in the Louvre. This is part of a pelike: it cannot belong to a psykter, as no psykter has a side-border.

E 19. Votive pinnax in Athens. Bears a certain likeness to the work of Euthymides, but hardly his.

P 1 and P 2. *Hydras* in Munich. The attribution to Phintias is certain. Hoppin is inclined to think that the shoulder of P 2 may have been painted by Euthymides: but few will go with him.

P 3. Louvre hydria G 41. Hoppin assigns it to Phintias, mainly on inscriptional evidence: (1) the greeting $\text{+A}\iota\text{Π}\epsilon\tau\omicron$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\mu\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ recalls the invocation on the Phintian hydria Munich 2421: but what was to prevent any other artist from greeting Euthymides if he liked? It is surely unfair to say that 'if the hydria be assigned to another painter, it would have to be shown, aside from the style, that such an artist was in the habit of using such dedications.' (2) The names Chares and Sostates occur on two Phintian vases: but the same names are used by different artists, for instance Megakles: (3) the graffiti resembles that of the London Phintias: but we cannot assume that the graffiti are due to the artist. The Louvre hydria is to my mind neither by Phintias nor by Euthymides: this can be more clearly seen in the original than in the drawings, which omit important details like the inner marking on Herakles' legs.

P 4. Louvre amphora G 42. Certainly by Phintias.

P 6. *Psykter* in Boston. Certainly by Phintias. Hoppin considers that it surpasses anything in Euthymides' work: a remarkable judgment.

P 7. *Stamnos* in Leipzig. This seems to me to be Euphryman rather than Phintian, although the drawing is a little tighter than we expect from Euphronios. In form and decoration the vase belongs to the same class as the three stamnoi by Smikros, in Brussels, London, and the Louvre (G 43): unsigned.

P 8. *Calyx krater* in Petrograd. Both sides are by Phintias and not merely the obverse, though this is not clear from the photographs.

P 9. Fragment in the Villa Giulia. A typical example of Oltes' work: see his *Gornato cup*.

The list of Phintias signatures may be increased by a fragment in the Acropolis

collection at Athens. It is the mouth, neck, and handles of a round aryballos, or a vase with plastic body like Hoppin, p. 109¹ on the mouth, in black letters of exquisite style, the legend ΦΙΛΤΙΑΣ: ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ ΜΕ: ΟΡΑΙΝΑΛΕ.

Hoppin attributes only one unsigned vase to Hypsis, the amphora B.M. E253. The resemblances between the amphora and the work of Hypsis seem to me very slight: in particular, the chiton of Hippodamios, which Hoppin invites us to observe, lacks exactly what makes the chiton of Hypsis' Amazons remarkable, the absence of vertical lines in the lower border.

Though I am compelled to differ from several of Hoppin's conclusions, I regard *Kathymides and his Followers* as a very useful, handy, and interesting book, which will bring pleasure and profit to many other readers besides myself.

J. D. B.

Beiträge zur Griechischen Religionsgeschichte. II. Kathartisches und Rituelles. Von S. EITREM. (Videnskapselskapets Skrifter II. Hist.-filos. Klasse. 1917, No. 2.) Pp. 50. Kristiania, 1917.

Dr. Eitrem's new contribution to the history of religion, which forms a useful supplement to his *Opferritus*, is devoted to the examination of the rites of circumambulation and marching through as means of purification; an investigation of certain points regarding the ceremony of the October Horse, and notes on the part played in ritual and magic by the tail and the head of an animal or a man. Like all the author's work, this treatise is somewhat defective in ordered arrangement, but it is marked by a wide command of the material and by a sound and prudent judgment. No better example of these qualities can be given than his treatment (pp. 23-27) of Festus's notice of the *quodis Prientium*, and the proverb *Sancti recedas*, arising from the curious ceremony performed at Rome on October 15th in each year. The author considers the suggested comparison with the treatment of Saturnalian kings whether in Moesia or Jerusalem, and definitely dismisses it: he recognises the possibility of bringing the sale into connexion with the legend of Anna Perenna as interpreted by Usener, and he notes the possible conclusions to be drawn from the figure of Mamurius Veturius, but at the end he admits that the evidence is *too* scanty to allow of any result being attained—a conclusion the wisdom of which cannot be called in question.

Of his own theories the most interesting is that (pp. 12-14) which seeks to find a purely lastral origin in the curious covenant rite referred to in Jeremiah,¹ and more remotely alluded to in Genesis,² the essence of which consisted in marching between the two halves of a victim. He rejects the common explanation that the process is symbolic, the victim undivided indicating the unity which should exist between two members of an alliance, while the divided condition signifies the fate awaiting those who break the bond, and the alternative suggestion that the victim serves as a witness of the agreement. In doing so he is doubtless right, but his argument that there is no bilateral contract in the cases in question is clearly unsound; in both cases God is one of the parties, and the rite must be deemed to be based on the normal human types of formal pact. He finds the true parallel in the case of lustration of armies by marching between the halves of the body of a victim whether a dog or a man, recorded for the Macedonian and Persian armies,³ and of the taking in this way of specially formal oaths, for which however in Greece there is no better evidence than that of Dictys Cretensis,⁴ who may be suspected of confusing different rites. The transition from lustration to use in a covenant he seeks to exemplify by the Scythian practice,⁵ by which a man seeking help sat on the skin of a

¹ xxxiv. 18, 19.

² xv. 9, 10.

³ Liv. xl. 6; Curt. x. 9, 11; Herod. vii. 39.

⁴ l. 15; ii. 49; x. 10.

⁵ Lucian, *Tox.* 48.

slain animal, and any helper indicated his aid by placing his right foot on the hide, partaking of the cooked flesh, and declaring with how many warriors he would help the suppliant: while in other cases—as, for instance, was the practice with the *Dios kothion* at Eleusis—the skin of a victim serves for purposes of lustration. The explanation has the temptation of simplicity, but it lacks plausibility. It is assumed that the marching of an army between the halves of the body of a victim in some manner takes away any pollution which may be upon it, the victim attracting to itself the miasma, but no suggestion is made to explain this curious power of the victim. In the theory of Robertson Smith,¹ which the author decidedly negatives, a rationale is found for the form of contract on the ground that originally the animal, which is sacrificially offered and therefore is charged with divine power, is eaten, and that the mere process of marching through is a substituted rite by which the whole of a people is made to partake of a covenant more effectively, economically, and expeditiously than could be secured by feasting on the victim. Similarly, if the victim is in some way holy, marching past it may serve to purify the host, or this ceremony may be a mere ruse of the transfer of evil, and therefore be explained on quite different grounds than the ceremony of *vampack*. Other explanations are also possible, but the facts are certainly too complex to be met by Dr. Eitrem's suggestion.

Many other points invite discussion, but it must suffice to note one or two matters on which Indian religion, the field in which Dr. Eitrem is least at home, may throw light. The author revives (p. 33) Kailas's interesting suggestion that the Titans are pre-Hellenic phallic daemons; beside them we may set the phallic aboriginal deities detested by the Vedic Indians. The exposure of the dead on trees which is recorded of the *Kolekhol* (p. 42) is not merely known to the Indian epic,² but undoubtedly must be seen in a passage of the *Atharvaveda*,³ which refers to one class of the dead as uplified (*udbhita*). It is a mistake to hold (p. 39) that the Vedic Indians treated the tail of the victim as in any sense specially sacred: tail and head alike were reckoned among the ordinary parts of the victim and divided among the priests;⁴ the ornament being the part treated with special respect. Nor is it certain that, when we hear in the *Rigveda*⁵ of Indra becoming a horse's tail in battle with the demon, it is his strength which is alluded to: his cunning adoption of a form to defeat his enemy's attack seems rather to be meant. In the discussion of practices regarding the treatment of the head it is curious to find no reference to the strange practice by which in India the murderer is required in certain cases as a penance to carry with him the skull of his victim,⁶ and it is clearly an undue pressing of language to reckon *Il. x. 457* as an instance in which a severed head continues to speak: early as is this view of the Homeric passage, which has left traces in the MS. tradition, it is perfectly plain that the line is no more than a graphic description of the severance of the head as Dolon was seeking to utter the prayer which he meditated, and that no reference to the mantic power of the head is contemplated.⁷ More mysterious perhaps than any head recorded by Dr. Eitrem is the horse's head which the *Agyius* gave to Dadhyānu, son of Atharvan, and with which he revealed to them the mind of Tvāstr.⁸

A. BERKESDALE KEITH.

¹ *Religion of the Semites*, p. 490.

² M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, i. 298.

³ *ASB* 2, 34.

⁴ *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii. 1.

⁵ *I. 32, 12*.

⁶ H. Olinberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 324.

⁷ *Od. xxii. 329* seems an echo of *Il. x. 457*, and can hardly be pressed as an argument in favour of taking *phryganeus* as 'in his death cry.' The present participle is conative.

⁸ A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 141, 142.

Greek Ideals: a Study of Social Life. By C. DELISLE BURNS. Pp. 275. London: Bell, 1917. 3s.

When the archaeological professor, in the literary contest in Mr. R. C. Trevelyan's inimitable fable of the New Paradise, quotes the 'Psalm of Life,' and Gigadila interrupts with 'No, really, that will hardly do,' Circe asks 'Why not? It was most beautiful, most Greek, in thought and form and feeling, so direct, so grand.' Mr. Burns's very fresh and stimulating study of certain aspects of Greek civilization serves to remind us, in like manner, that although the great Greek thinkers and artists rose to heights where few if any have since challenged them, for the mass of the Greeks, even of the Athenians, convention ruled life and thought. The average Greek was satisfied 'if he did the right thing'; in religion, for instance, he would approve the precept of Isocrates to 'reverence the divine always, especially *πρὸς τοὺς πόδας*.' Mr. Burns translates this 'in the way that everyone else does,' or 'in the way that the community does'; but it is fair to say that he insists throughout on the fact that the *poleis* comprises far more than we mean by the body politic: it includes, for instance, the whole religious organization of society. The ideal, however, is not high. Nevertheless it is absurd to suppose that the mass out of which sprang Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, to mention only three of the most famous philosophers, was not intellectually above the level of most nations. Mr. Burns's sympathies are obviously rather with Socrates and Plato than with Aristotle, whom he dismisses in a brief chapter, and on whose indulgence in platitudes he is somewhat severe; forgetting perhaps that much of his teaching has come down to us in the form of lecture-notes (and if a lecturer utters a platitude it is much more likely to be recorded than something more difficult to grasp), and, secondly, that what may seem platitudinous to us has only become so by long familiarity. The first portion of the book gives some account of Attic religion, as shown in the chief festivals. Mr. Burns is evidently less familiar with this ground than with the philosophers; but an occasional remark shows that he estimates at its true value the work of those 'who prefer the serpents and mist of early magic and late mysticism to the shining faces of the gods and the sunlight of Homer.' We could wish that Mr. Burns had attempted to deal more fully with non-philosophic literature and with the fine arts as expressive of the Greek ideals. The limitation of the ideal of Greek sculpture, which has been so trenchantly expressed in Browning's 'Old Pictures in Florence,' is exactly paralleled by the limitation of the Greek ideal of liberty; and it was this clear-cut definition of the goal, so dear to the intellectual habit of the Greek, that enabled them to reach it. A vaguer aspiration would not have permitted the Greeks to establish the firm foundation on which the later comers, such as Christianity, have been enabled to build with security.

There are rather too many misprints in the few Greek words, and an occasional statement that surprises. Thus we are told on p. 43 that preaching was, happily, unknown in Athens; but what about Protagoras, whose 'sermon' on the beauty of virtue Mr. Burns knows quite well? And there are some remarks that can only be called puerile, as: 'In modern England, at least among the self-styled "upper" classes, if you want to dance you must pretend that you do it for charity or patriotism.' In war-time, possibly; but otherwise: 'Fam, then son of Fo, what sort of a people is he got amongst?'

The Religious Thought of the Greeks. By Professor CLYDEMAN HANSEN. MOORE. Pp. x + 386. Harvard University Press, 1916.

This book contains eight lectures given before the Lowell Institute in Boston. It covers a very wide field. The first lecture is on religion in Homer and Hesiod. The author proceeds to deal with the Attic literature and the mystic religions, and comes at last to Christianity. Obviously the treatment must be slight, and the writer does not pretend to much originality. But he manages to include an immense deal; and though so com-

pressed never becomes either dull or obscure. In fact perspective and lucidity are the most notable features of the work. By bringing the most important features into relief, and skilfully sketching in the background, Mr. Moore has succeeded in giving a remarkably clear and sensible sketch of the whole course of ancient religious thought so far as it is most interesting. He gives one the impression that he is quite at home in every part of the wide field which he surveys. Of course in tracing his bold outlines, the writer cannot always be microscopically accurate. But it would be difficult to find another short treatise on the subject so fair in its judgments and so sensible in its outlook. It may be confidently recommended to intelligent readers. The chief danger is that a reader, passing so easily and smoothly over the surface of the Greek religion, may not realize the hidden depths below. Mr. Moore is of course unable to give the authorities for his assertions in most cases: but he appends a well chosen bibliography.

P. G.

Andros. By THEOPHIL SAUTER. Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1914. Pp. 168, with 77 Illustrations.

This painstaking work, one of the publications of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, collects and collates, though in somewhat over-annotated form, all our knowledge of Andros, geographical, historical and archaeological, and for that reason alone it will be indispensable to any who make a study of the Islands. Though unable to undertake excavations on his own account, the author gives a very careful description of the existing antiquities of the island and, in an epigraphical appendix, elucidates several points in inscriptions already published, besides adding twenty-one new inscriptions to the list.

The scattered paragraphs dealing with numismatic questions are the least satisfactory part of the book: the somewhat fanciful theories and attributions of Panchalia (*Journ. Int.* i. p. 299) are taken over wholesale and presented as established facts. For instance, it is doubtful if the archaic coins of the amphora type with incuse reverse are to be given to Andros rather than, with Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, to Carthage in Corsica, and it is wildly improbable that the late fourth and third century coins have any connexion with Southern Italy because some of them bear the mystic letter ϕ . To say (p. 56) that the early coin legends of Acanthus, a colony of Andros, because they end in -ON and not -QN, decide for us the alphabet-group to which Andros belonged, is to ignore the possibility that the nominative singular may really be intended, as is undoubtedly the case on the coins of neighbouring Samos which read ΣΕΡΜΥΑΙΚΟΝ. There are some good illustrations and an excellent index.

A Study of Archaism in Euripides. By CLARENCE AUGUSTUS MANNING. [Columbia University Studies in Classical Philology.] Pp. 98. 1916.

Mr. Manning holds that "although a sceptic and a critic of the Greek state as he knew it . . . yet Euripides (not Sophocles) was often the conservator and the restorer of the old," and his book accordingly sets out to show how "in many ways Euripides undertook successfully to revive and adapt the methods of Aeschylus." In the structure of Euripides's dramas, in his prologues and epilogues, in the metres he assigns to the chorus, in his treatment of religious questions, Mr. Manning finds evidence that he deliberately drew away from the practice of Sophocles and walked once more in the path of the Aeschylean tradition. The various counts of this evidence are, however, of such very unequal value as to leave the reader wondering whether there is anything in the theory at all. Much of what Mr. Manning advances indicates no more than that Euripides is spiritually of nearer kin to Aeschylus than to Sophocles—an obvious fact which has

nothing to do with 'archaism.' Nor, again, is the latter term appropriate in cases where Euripides was fain to amplify some simple old myth which struck his fancy with apodes in order to eke out his play to the length required by his more modern and more exacting audience. Doubtless the result often diverges widely from the Sophoclean practice, but so far from this being due to the dramatist's hankering after the archaic it is actually a consequence of his lively desire of being up-to-date.

The Ethics of Euripides. By RHYA CARPENTER. [Archives of Philosophy, Columbia University, No. 7.] New York: Columbia University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1916. Pp. 48. 2s. 6d.

The bulk of Mr. Rhya Carpenter's opuscula is taken up with a discussion of the proposition that the Euripidean ethic is substantially a poetical counterpart of the Aristotelian ethic of the mean and of τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει, and that 'little change is necessary to cast it in obvious Aristotelian form.' Whatever the intrinsic value of this thesis, the evidence cited by the author in support of it is far from cogent, consisting as it does for the most part of isolated passages alleged to be descriptive of the 'excess,' 'defect' and 'mean' of various moral qualities. Thus, for instance, the remark of Pylades in *Iph. Taur.* (114, 5), τοῦς τιμωρὶ γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ τολευμένοι, δεῖδοι δ' αἰεὶ οὐδὲν οὐδαινοῖ, is quoted as an instance of Euripides's insistence on 'the evil of defect' in respect of 'courage and fear.' But obviously sententious tags of this description have no more specific connexion with the Aristotelian ethic than with the proverbial philosophy of all nations and ages; and even so Mr. Carpenter's examples are drawn largely from the Euripidean fragments, the exact force of which necessarily remains uncertain in the absence of the context. One or two of the plays, notably the *Hippolytus*, Mr. Carpenter examines as a whole, but the result is not any more satisfactory in establishing a connexion with Aristotle apart from the general Hellenic outlook on life.

Ingram Bywater. The Memoir of an Oxford Scholar, 1840-1914. By W. W. JACKSON, D.D. Pp. xi + 212. With a Portrait. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1917. 7s. 6d. net.

This slim book is a welcome relief to the present fashion of devoting two thick volumes to the biographies of persons of ephemeral if brilliant reputation. Bywater was not well known personally, even at Oxford; he held steadily aloof from University politics and from any other distraction that might disturb the somewhat austere ideal of scholarship that he always kept before his eyes. So that it would have been difficult, even had Dr. Jackson wished, to make a long book of his subject, even the few excursions in which he indulges, on such matters as the Tests, seem to be a little irrelevant. Bywater as scholar does not belong to any one age of Oxford; he is merely typical of the best work of English scholarship, and might have existed at almost any period since the Renaissance. He pursued a higher aim than those scholars of whom it may be boasted that they have made 'English classics' of this or that ancient writer—a boast which is complimentary neither to the ancient writer nor to the classical standard in English literature. When he lectured his somewhat eccentric delivery tended to distract the hearer. So it was that he who was perhaps the greatest pure scholar produced by England in recent times did not impress his generation as much as he might have done. Dr. Jackson makes it clear that in those who knew him well he inspired deep affection; and the aloofness which characterized his life was in no way due to lack of human kindness or of public spirit, but merely the reserve exercised by a strong mind in the service of a high ideal. Dr. Jackson's book should be read by every student of the classics.

Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Volume I. *School of Classical Studies, 1915-1916.* Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1917. Pp. 172. Frontispiece and 54 Plates.

Although it is not our custom to notice periodicals, we are glad to welcome this first volume of the *Memoirs*, which is a continuation, in a most sumptuous form, of what used to be called *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies*. That school is now incorporated in the 'American Academy in Rome,' and the opportunity has been taken to issue its special publication on a grand scale (a large quarto, $14 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with numerous half-tone plates of the finest quality). The only criticism we have to make unfavourable to the illustrations is that many of the half-tones, printed separately, are laid down on rough paper, with a sham plate-mark, which gives the appearance of photogravures or something of the kind. The device has the merit of making such plates pleasanter to handle; but it is none the less a sham. As regards the text, the late Mr. Carter leads off with a short article on the 'Reorganization of the Roman Priesthoods at the Beginning of the Republic.' There is a long and fully illustrated article (14 plates) on the 'Vatican Lry; and the Script of Tons' (E. K. Rand and G. Howe); Mr. A. W. van Buren and Mr. G. P. Stevens write on the 'Aqua Traiana and the Mills on the Janiculum'; Mr. C. D. Curtis on 'Ancient Granulated Jewelry'; Mr. J. R. Crawford on 'Capita Desecta and Marble Coiffures' (he rejects Gauckler's ritual explanation of these segmented heads, gives a full account of all known specimens, and prefers to look for explanations, not necessarily always the same, on technical grounds); Mr. E. S. Macartney on the 'Military Indebtedness of Early Rome to Etruria.' But the most elaborate article is a very full study by Mr. Stanley Lothrop (with 29 plates) of Bartolommeo Caporali, a minor Perugian painter of great charm.

Our Renaissance. Essays on the Reform and Revival of Classical Studies. By HARRY BROWNE, S.J. With a Preface by Sir F. G. KENYON. Pp. 281. London: Longmans. No Date. 7s. 6d.

This work is made up of a collection of addresses and papers in regard to the use of archaeological illustrations in schools. Professor Browne is a keen enthusiast who is doing much to infuse actuality into classical studies in Ireland, England and America. The most original part of the book is the last, which is a practical discussion of the use of museums, loan collections and reproductions in classical teaching. There is no doubt that here lies a deep-seated gap in English education. A Classical Aids Committee was formed just before the war; but its work has naturally been at present suspended, and it is very difficult to find in London any systematic supply of casts, prints and facsimiles suitable for schools. It is to be observed that Prof. Browne takes up the whole question from the school rather than the university point of view, and does not discuss advanced work in archaeology: Greek sculpture, for example, he dismisses as being too remote from the English temper of mind. What we specially need is books which bring to bear on classical history and life all the most recent results of research, and in a form adapted to schoolboys. In his *Ancient Times* Mr. Brewster has attempted this, and admirably succeeded so far as the Oriental empires are concerned, but he is less perfectly at home in dealing with Greece and Rome, leaving great opportunities for men of talent. There is a contagious energy and enthusiasm in Professor Browne's book which is delightful. We cannot conclude without expressing regret that so eminent publishers as Messrs. Longmans should adopt the inhuman custom of publishing a book unedited.

The Future of Greek. By A. H. CRUICKSHANK. Pp. 25. Oxford: Blackwell, 1917. 1s. net.

CANON CRUICKSHANK has taught Greek for over thirty years, and offers out of his experience a few suggestions of how to save something out of the wreck which, as some of us fear, Greek studies are likely to suffer. His plan seems to be to make things much easier for passmen, dropping the chereuses in plays, for instance, or the speeches in Thucydides. Generally, he thinks we lay too much stress on Greek drama, and finds many of our revivals of Greek tragedy a weariness of the flesh. He also seems to hold Aristophanes in comparatively light esteem. (We are quite sorry for Aristophanes, but suppose it cannot be helped.) But the point in which, perhaps because of his position at Durham, he seems to take most interest, is the possibility of insisting on Greek and if necessary rather omitting Latin in the theological course. The pamphlet is a good instance of the haphazard manner in which we are all groping for a way out of an impossible situation. There is no word of the study of antiquities, which strangely enough is becoming more popular as the study of the language and literature decays. Perhaps, having come into contact with archaeology through attempts at reviving Greek plays, Canon Cruickshank finds it all a weariness of the flesh. But if only all teachers of 'pure classics' realised that the material remains of antiquity will bring conviction to some people who otherwise can never be got to believe that Greek literature deals with real people, the chances of snatching a few brands from the burning would be greatly increased.

A Guide to the Select Greek and Latin Inscriptions exhibited in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1917. Pp. 44. Price 6d.

This guide, which should be useful to beginners of the study of Greek inscriptions, even without reference to the actual stones, consists of the descriptions already to be seen on the labels attached to the originals in the British Museum, with a brief introduction (including a table of alphabets) by Mr. A. H. Smith. A certain number of blocks of facsimiles are included.

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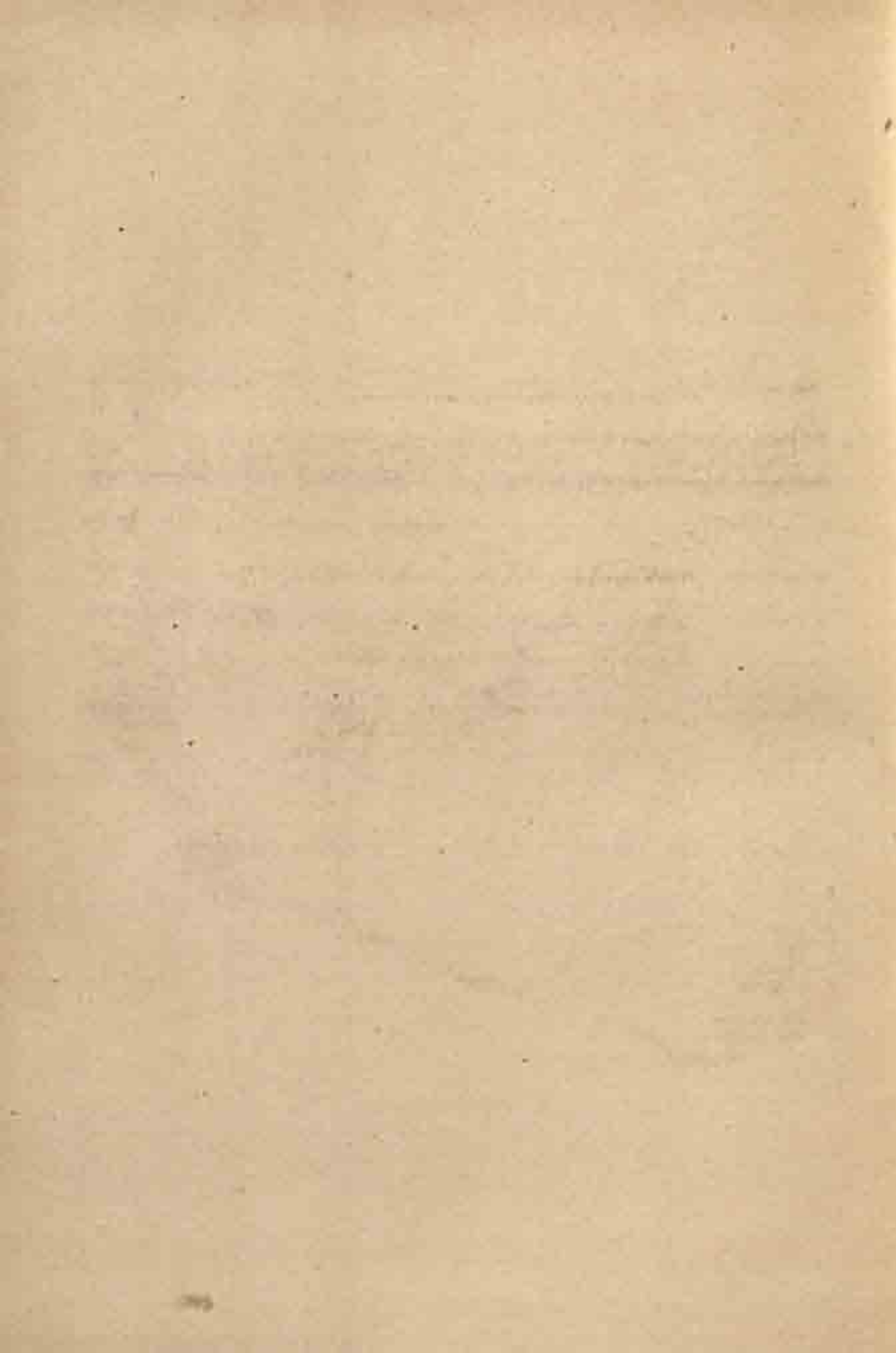
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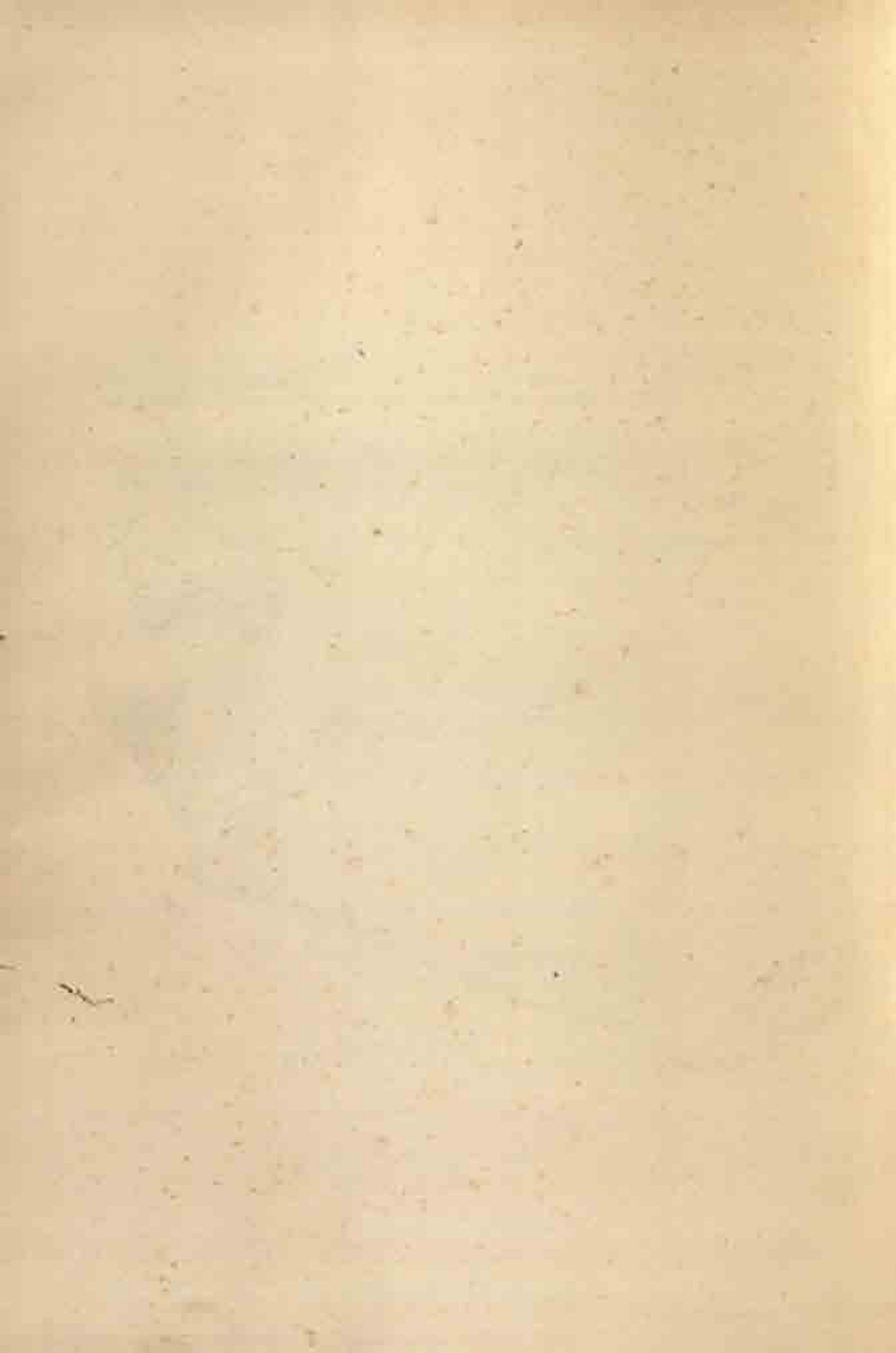
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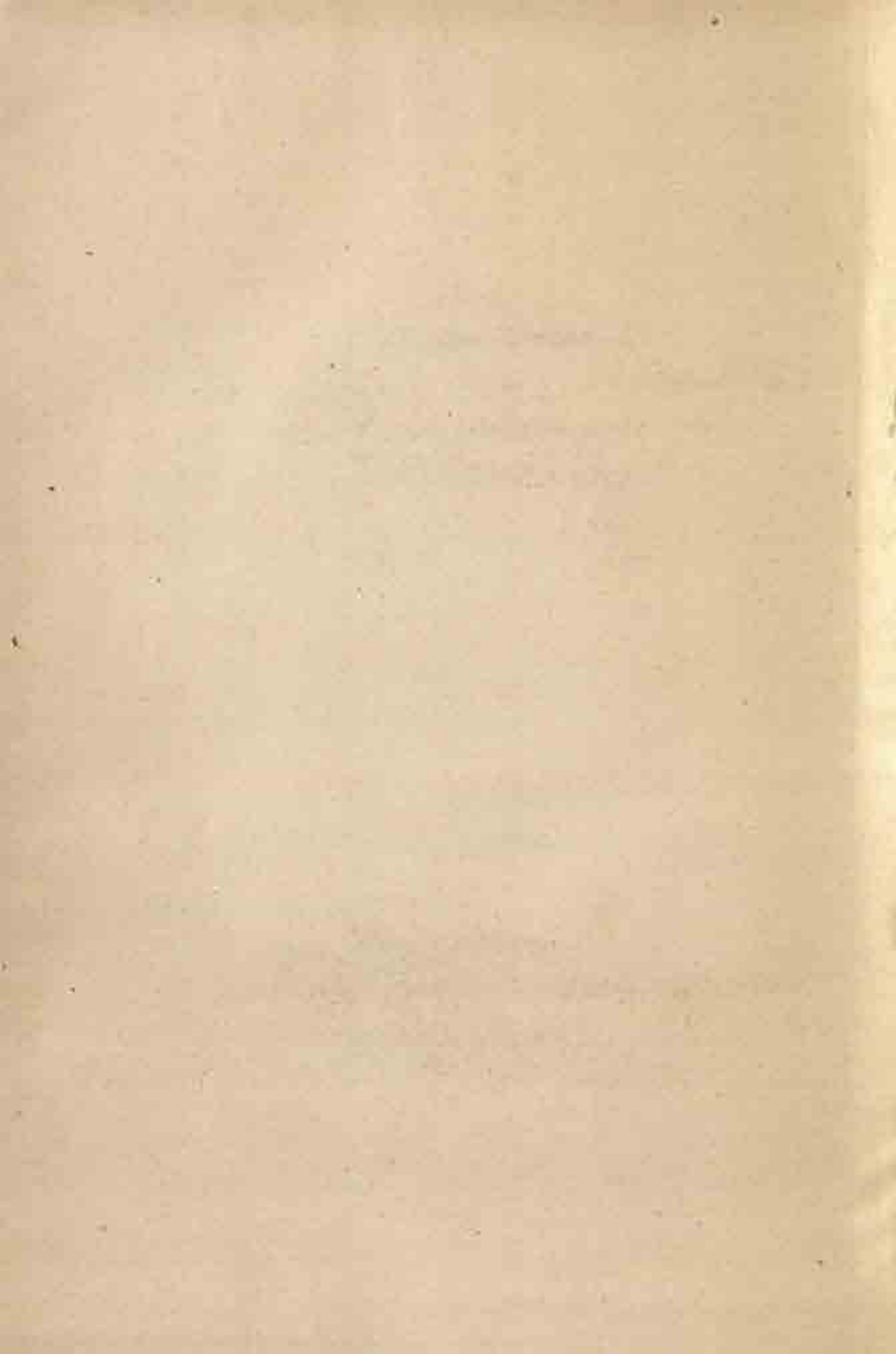




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